

Class

901.42

Book

T681

General Theological Seminary Library

Chelsea Square, New York

v.4 pt.1

PRESENTED BY

Soc'y for Promoting Religion and Learning

SOCIAL ENGLAND

ILLUSTRATED EDITION—VOL. IV. SECTION I

*FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE FIRST TO
THE RESTORATION*



MONT ORGUEIL CASTLE, JERSEY.

SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People
IN RELIGION, LAWS, LEARNING, ARTS, INDUSTRY, COMMERCE,
SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND MANNERS, FROM THE EARLIEST
TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

EDITED BY

H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

J. S. MANN, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME IV SECTION I

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

LONDON: CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED

1909

SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People

*IN RELIGION, LAWS, LEARNING, ARTS, INDUSTRY, COMMERCE,
SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND MANNERS, FROM THE EARLIEST
TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY*

EDITED BY

H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

J. S. MANN, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME IV SECTION I

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

LONDON: CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED

1909

THE
LIBRARY
NEW YORK

27611

7. 1

1. 1. 1.

49875

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	xxxì
PREFATORY NOTE (<i>J. S. Mann</i>)	xxxiii

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STUARTS AND THE NATION. 1603-1642.

THE RULE OF THE STUARTS: JAMES I. (<i>Arthur Hassall</i>)	1
THE RULE OF THE STUARTS: CHARLES I. (<i>Arthur Hassall</i>)	10
THE ANGLICAN REACTION (<i>W. H. Hutton</i>).	24
PURITANISM AND NONCONFORMITY (<i>John Brown</i>)	50
THE ARMY IN TRANSITION (<i>Arthur Hassall</i>)	57
THE NAVY (<i>W. Laird Clowes</i>)	62
EXPLORATION AND COLONISATION (<i>Charles Raymond Beazley</i>)	70
ARCHITECTURE AND ART (<i>Reginald Hughes</i>)	89
NATURAL SCIENCE (<i>Thomas Whittaker</i>)	110
WITCHCRAFT AND ALCHEMY (<i>Robert Steele</i>)	118
THE UNIVERSITIES (<i>W. H. Hutton</i>)	123
LITERATURE (<i>George Saintsbury</i>)	130
THE ADVANCE IN AGRICULTURE (<i>R. E. Prothero</i>)	159
THE GROWTH OF MANUFACTURE (<i>G. Townsend Warner</i>)	168
TRADE AND FINANCE (<i>J. E. Symes</i>)	180
PAUPERISM AND THE POOR LAWS (<i>W. A. S. Hewins</i>).	196
PUBLIC HEALTH (<i>Charles Creighton</i>)	205
SCOTLAND, 1584-1642 (<i>James Colville</i>)	214
IRELAND AND ENGLAND (<i>P. W. Joyce</i>)	236
AUTHORITIES, 1603-1642	266
	277

CHAPTER XIV.

CIVIL WARFARE AND REPUBLICAN RULE. 1642-1660.

	PAGE
THE COURSE OF THE CIVIL WAR (<i>A. L. Smith</i>)	280
THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE (<i>A. L. Smith</i>)	296
THE LINES OF DIVISION (<i>A. L. Smith</i>)	302
THE ART OF WAR, 1603-1660 (<i>C. W. C. Oman</i>)	313
THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE (<i>Arthur Hassall</i>).	333
EPISCOPACY AND ITS ADVERSARIES (<i>W. H. Hutton</i>)	343
PRESBYTERIANISM AND DISSENT (<i>John Brown</i>)	353
CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY (<i>Arthur Hassall</i>)	362
THE NAVY (<i>W. Laird Clowes</i>)	367
INDUSTRY AND TRADE (<i>J. E. Symes</i>)	375
THE COINAGE (<i>Reginald Hughes</i>)	385
PHILOSOPHY (<i>T. Whittaker</i>)	388
NATURAL SCIENCE (<i>T. Whittaker</i>)	396
RELIGIOUS LITERATURE (<i>W. H. Hutton</i>)	398
SECULAR LITERATURE (<i>George Saintsbury</i>)	409
SOCIAL LIFE (<i>Mary Bateson</i>)	425
SCOTLAND (<i>James Colville</i>).	448
IRELAND, 1640-1660 (<i>P. W. Joyce</i>)	466
AUTHORITIES, 1642-1660	472

LIST OF PLATES.

(Brief Notes on some of these will be found with those on the remaining Illustrations.)

MONT ORGUEIL CASTLE, JERSEY	<i>Frontispiece</i>
JAMES I., BY VAN SOMER.	<i>To face</i> 1
FRUIT TRENCHERS OF THE JACOBAN PERIOD	<i>To face</i> 160
CHILDREN OF CHARLES I.	<i>To face</i> 218
ARTILLERISTS AT WORK	<i>To face</i> 314
SEAFIGHT IN A HARBOUR, BY VANDEVELDE	<i>To face</i> 374

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME IV. SECTION I.

MONT ORGUEIL CASTLE, JERSEY	<i>Frontispiece</i>	PAGE
William Prynne (text, pp. 19, 224) was confined here for some years as part of his punishment.		
JAMES I., BY VAN SOMER		1
Painted about 1620; the Banqueting House at Whitehall (begun in 1619, finished in 1622) is seen through the window on the left. The painter died early in 1621.		
SEAL OF JAMES I.		2
The king wears the collar of the Garter, and is described as "by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland." On the reverse the royal arms, supported by a dragon and a greyhound.		
A PROVERB APPLIED		3
From an anti-monarchical pamphlet published under the Commonwealth. The cat is looking across at the frontispiece of the book, on which is a portrait of James I., with his motto, "Beati pacifici" (Blessed are the peacemakers—here ironical), and a famous prophecy as to the rulers of England from Henry VIII. to the Commonwealth: "Mars, Puer, Aleto, Virgo, Vulpes, Leo, Nullus" (a war-god, a boy, a Fury, a virgin, a fox, a lion, no one). James I. is, of course, the fox. The text contains hostile biographies of various Kings of England, especially of James I.		
CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH PLENIPOTENTIARIES IN 1604 .		5
They met in old Somerset House, on August 18, 1604, to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce between James I. and Philip III. of Spain, with whom the Archduke Albert of Austria was associated in the treaty as Governor of the Netherlands. James bound himself to give no further aid to the Hollanders or other enemies of the king and the archduke, and in return English subjects trading abroad were exempted from molestation by the Inquisition. This was the beginning of the estrangement between England and Holland. The British Commissioners, beginning from the window, and on the spectator's right, are: Thomas, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, holding his wand of office; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, who, as Lord Howard of Effingham, defeated the Spanish Armada; the Earl of Devonshire; the Earl of Northampton; and Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. The Spanish Commissioners, on the spectator's left, are: Juan de Velasco, Constable of Castile and Leon; Juan Baptista de Tassis; Alexander Rovida, an eminent jurist. The Commissioners for the archduke and archduchess are Charles, Prince and Count of AreMBERG; Jean Richardot, knight; Lodovic Verreyken, knight. (A fuller account of this picture will be found in the <i>Catalogue</i> of the National Portrait Gallery.)		
ONE OF KING JAMES'S GUARD		7
From a drawing in the album of Tobias Oelhafen von Schöllenbach, containing autographs, drawings, etc., collected by him in the years 1623-1625, during his travels in France, England, and the Low Countries. Such albums were common at this period and till much later.		

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA	PAGE 9
Daughter of James I. and wife of the Elector Frederick, King of Bohemia. The lock of dark hair falling to her left shoulder and the mourning band on her left arm are supposed to relate either to her champion, Christian, Duke of Brunswick, who died in 1626, or to her husband, who died in 1632. (Law, <i>Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court</i> .)	
KING CHARLES I.	11
The picture is possibly a replica of an original at Windsor, but by some authorities is regarded as itself the original. The figure walking is the king's equerry, M. St. Antoine, who was sent over with a present of six splendid horses for Prince Henry, son of James I., by Henry IV. of France. (Law, <i>op. cit.</i>)	
GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G., AND FAMILY	13
His wife, the daughter of the Earl of Rutland, holds on her lap the successor to the title, the poet and companion of Charles II. The eldest child, standing beside her, was afterwards Duchess of Richmond and Lenox.	
THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, K.G.	16
An old copy from a painting by Vandyck.	
BUST OF JOHN HAMPDEN	17
In terra cotta; sculptor unknown.	
HEAD AND LIMBS OF AN APPRENTICE HANGED FOR TREASON	19
Prefixed to a ballad in the Roxburghe Collection on the execution of an apprentice who was hanged, drawn and quartered for using treasonable language in 1632. His name was John Stevens.	
EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD (by Hollar)	22
On the scaffold on Tower Hill he told the crowd that he had always believed Parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation, and the best means, under God, to make the king and his people happy; and he further asked whether it were well that the beginning of the people's happiness should be written in tears of blood. Refusing to bind his eyes, he, after a prayer, spread forth his hands as a sign to the executioner, and the axe ended his life. (Dr. S. R. Gardiner in the <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> .)	
THE CHAPEL, HAMPTON COURT PALACE	27
Here Edward VI. was christened, and the body of his mother, Jane Seymour, lay for twelve days before her funeral. Queen Anne had the Gothic mullions taken out of the windows, a pavement laid down of black and white marble, and the carving, by Grinling Gibbons, put in. Law, <i>History of Hampton Court</i> , III., 184.	
RICHARD BANCROFT, BISHOP OF LONDON (painter unknown)	29
THE "GUY FAWKES" CONSPIRATORS, 1605	31
The eight principal conspirators. R. Winter and Bates were executed in St. Paul's Churchyard, January 31, 1606; Guy Fawkes and T. Winter on the following day in Palace Yard, Westminster. Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights were killed at Holbeach in Staffordshire while resisting arrest.	
ALTAR RAILS IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, ATTRIBUTED TO LAUD	33
These have been regarded as later in date than the Restoration, but there is no record in the Acts of the Cathedral Chapter as to any	

renewal of them at that period. The tradition of the cathedral ascribes their erection to Laud, who is known to have introduced rails for the communion table in the English Church. They are certainly Renaissance in style, very old, and with signs of later work. They are in the Lady Chapel. (This information has been kindly supplied by the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester.)

LANCELOT ANDREWES	35
-----------------------------	----

PORCH OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, OXFORD.	37
---	----

The University Church; built under the superintendence of Adam de Brome, and as a memorial of Queen Eleanor of Castile. John Henry Newman was its incumbent from 1834 to 1843. This porch, "a curious mixture of Gothic and rococo," as Mr. T. G. Jackson has remarked, was erected at the cost of Dr. Morgan Owen, one of Archbishop Laud's chaplains, at a cost of £230, and the image of the Virgin and Child gave material for one of the articles of Laud's impeachment. Cf. T. G. Jackson, *Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford*, 1897. The design is attributed to Inigo Jones, but was probably carried out and altered by one of the Stones. Cf. text, pp. 97-99.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL	39
--------------------------------	----

The spire, finished in 1221, and 520 feet in height, was struck by lightning and burnt down, together with the roof, on June 4th, 1561. The roof was completely restored by 1566, out of the proceeds of a subscription, headed by Queen Elizabeth; for a new steeple only drawings were made. In 1620, the church having suffered greatly from the coal smoke, James I. was induced to appoint a commission to consider the subject, but nothing was done beyond the purchase of some Portland stone, afterwards used by the Duke of Buckingham to build the watergate of York House (p. 98). The church was thoroughly restored in 1631-1632, when Laud was Bishop of London. It was, of course, intended to add a spire eventually (Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, ed. 1668, pp. 153-160). The inscription containing the name of Thomas Barlow indicates that he paid the cost of the engraving and presented it to the book.

THE TWO HOUSES OF CONVOCATION	42, 43
---	--------

From a print entitled "A Venerable Aspect of both the Houses of Convocation of the Reverend Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, assembled by his Majestie's authority, first at St. Paul's, London, Februarie 13, 1623, thence removed to Westminster and there yet continuing this 23 of Aprill, 1624." The Upper House was assembled in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the Lower House "in another distinct place on the north side of Westminster Church." The Archbishop of York and the four Bishops of the Northern Provinces (apparently at the left corner of the table) are stated to be present, sitting not in their robes, but only in episcopal attire. The Archbishop of Canterbury heads the table, seemingly with the Bishops of Lincoln and London. The Prolocutor of the Lower House is Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester. The letterpress appended states, however, that some absentees are shown as present.

LITTLE GIDDING CHURCH	47
---------------------------------	----

The church, which was used as a barn when Ferrar's mother bought the manor in 1624, was repaired by him and "provided with everything necessary for that decency of divine worship which Laud was striving to introduce." It was spoiled by Puritans in 1647 and the community broken up, but was carefully restored in 1853. Some of Ferrar's

church furniture has been recovered. (Bishop Creighton in <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> .)	PAGE
THE RECTORY, BEMERTON, WILTS	48
Herbert restored the building, and the garden contains a fig-tree and a medlar said to have been planted by him. On the front is this inscription, which he composed:— “If thou chance for to find A new house for thy mind And built without thy cost, Be good to the poor As God gives the store, And then my labour's not lost.”	
INTERIOR OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LEEDS.	49
A rare example of an entirely new church built and endowed at this period. It was provided by the munificence of one man, John Harrison, and is an interesting example of the Anglican reaction at this period. The masonry is nearly all late Gothic, the carving and woodwork Jacobean. Blomfield, <i>Renaissance Architecture</i> , I., 136.	
SCROOBY MANOR HOUSE, NOTTS	53
Near Bawtry and Retford; identified, with practical certainty, by modern historians as the Puritan meeting place; the original authorities do not mention the name. It is now a farmhouse.	
MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON	56
A CULVERIN	59
From a MS. containing drawings of various kinds of cannon and their shot, which belong to the later years of Elizabeth's reign or the earlier part of that of James I.	
PIKEMAN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	60
CUIRASSIER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	61
Interesting as some of the last examples in history of the use of armour in actual warfare.	
PIKES	62
MODEL OF A SHIP, TEMP. JAMES I.	64
TITLE-PAGE TO SELDEN'S "DOMINION OF THE SEA"	65
THE <i>ROYAL SOVEREIGN</i> , DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT	68
THE <i>ROYAL PRINCE</i> , DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT.	69
VIEW OF ORMUZ, ABOUT 1570	72
THE COAST OF MASSACHUSETTS	75
THE COAST OF MAINE.	77
These are sections of a map given in John Smith's "Generall History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles" [Bermuda], 1624. Together they represent the coast from Cape Cod to the Penobscot, the "River Forth" being the Kennebec.	
SMITH'S RESCUE BY POCAHONTAS	78
Smith was captured while exploring the river Chickahominy, and saved himself by exhibiting a mariner's compass to his Indian captors.	

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xi

PAGE

He was brought eventually before Powhatan, their "emperor," when two great stones were laid down and preparations made to dash his brains out on them; but Pocahontas, "the king's dearest daughter when no entreaty could prevail, took Smith's head in her arms and laid her own upon his to save him from death." Powhatan relented, and ultimately brought Smith back to Jamestown.

POWHATAN'S HABIT 79

About 7 feet 2 inches long, by 5 feet 3 inches wide; made of two deer skins and adorned with "roanoake" shellwork, which is akin to the better-known wampum, but made from West Indian shells—an instance of the extent of trade among the Indians at this period. The animals may represent some real animal of the region, depicted in the conventional manner of Indian picture-writing, or some mythical composite creature, such as other Algonquin tribes are known to depict, according to Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Part I., pp. 406, 416. Several Indian mantles are mentioned in the original catalogue of Tradescant's collection, which formed the nucleus of Ashmole's, but this alone remains. It may possibly have been presented by Captain John Smith himself. (E. B. Tylor in *Archiv für Ethnographie* (Leyden), I., p. 215.)

RELICS OF MILES STANDISH 83

Preserved at the "Pilgrims' Hall," Plymouth, Mass.

SCENE ON THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE TO THE INDIES, 1594 87

From an account by the Dutch explorer, Linschoten, of his voyages along the Arctic coast of Europe as far as the Obi, in 1594 and 1595.

HATFIELD HOUSE, SOUTH FRONT 90

The manor had belonged to the Bishops of Ely, who had a palace here, rebuilt (of brick) by Cardinal Morton, *temp.* Henry VII. Part of this still survives, and is used as stables. Henry VIII. received the property from the see of Ely in exchange for other church lands seized at the Dissolution, and exchanged it in 1607 for Theobalds (nearer London) with Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who rebuilt the house by 1611. The northern wing was burnt down in 1835, and the then Marchioness of Salisbury lost her life in the flames. It was rebuilt exactly according to the original plan.

TEMPLE NEWSAM 91

Near Leeds; on the site of a preceptory of the Templars. After the Order was suppressed it was given to Sir J. d'Arcy, whose descendant was beheaded for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace. It then passed to the Earls of Lennox, and Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was born in the house. The existing building was erected in 1612.

THE HALL STAIRCASE, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD 93

This is stated to have been erected in 1640 for Dean Fell, by one "Smith of London." But it has been suggested that Smith may have used the drawings of Wolsey's architect, as the date is very late for Gothic architecture.

PORTAL OF THE BODLEIAN, BY THOMAS HOLTE (*see text*) 94

DESIGNS FOR THE INNER COURT OF WHITEHALL PALACE 95, 96

Preserved, with many other drawings by Inigo Jones, at Sir John Soane's Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Banqueting Hall, still extant as the United Service Museum, is the lower building on the

	PAGE
left of the picture. The palace, which was never completed according to Inigo Jones's design, was burnt down in 1697.	
ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING OF ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN	97
BRIDGE AT WILTON, DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES	97
THE WATER GATE OF YORK HOUSE	98
Built of Portland stone originally collected for the restoration of St. Paul's, <i>temp.</i> James I., but appropriated by the Duke of Buckingham, who was assassinated before the building of his great mansion had proceeded very far.	
TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, WESTMINSTER ABBEY	100
The queen was determined to falsify the prediction, fulfilled in the case of Edward VI. and Mary, that "no child of Henry VIII. should be buried with any memory," and this tomb was the result. For many years the monument was the best known of those in the Abbey. Stanley, <i>Memorials of Westminster Abbey</i> , p. 153.	
DANIEL MYTENS AND HIS WIFE, BY VANDYCK	101
COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.	103, 105, 106

Page 103: The spur ryal of James I. was so called because the sun's rays on the reverse suggest the point of a spur. On the obverse, as also on the obverse of the angel, is "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." All the above coins are of gold. The rose ryal was worth 30s., and the spur ryal 15s. The farthing token was coined under a patent granted in 1613 to Lord Harrington of Exton, and is the first English copper coin. Page 104: The legend on the obverse of the gold 20s. piece or unite shows the change in the royal title to "King of Great Britain," etc., from "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" (*cf.* the sovereign, p. 105), which was made in the second year of the king's reign. That on the obverse ("I will make them into one nation") is based on Ezekiel xxxvii. 22. Page 105: The sovereign of James I. (*b*) belongs to his first issue of coins (*see* above as to change of title). On the reverse, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered." The rose ryal (*g*) is double the value of the spur ryal and has the same motto. The "laurel coin," a "unite" (*f*), is the first instance of a laurelled bust on English coins. James liked to pose as a Roman. The above coins are gold. On the silver crown of James I. (*a*) the motto is "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." The plume indicates that the silver came from the Welsh mines near Aberystwith. Charles I.'s silver crown bears the motto "I reign with Christ as my patron." The plume above the shield indicates that the silver was Welsh, but the coin was struck at the Tower mint. The half-crown with the plume (*d*) was coined at Aberystwith mint (1637-1642). The Bristol unite (gold, *e*) was coined in 1645 at the Bristol mint (1643-1646). On the reverse is a scroll containing in an abbreviated form the legend "The Religion of Protestants, the Laws of England, the Liberty of Parliament"—a reference to the king's declaration to the Privy Council at Wellington, September 19, 1642. The Exeter crown (silver, *c*) was struck in that city at the mint existing there 1642-1645. Charles I.'s crown (silver, *h*) was struck by Nicholas Briot (*see* text), of Lorraine, by machinery, and not by the hammer process. So were the gold unite and angel on page 106. The motto on the obverse of the former is "United kingdoms flourish"—on which, as on the olive branch carried by the king on several of the coins shown, the state of England and Scotland during the period of their issue (1632-1636) affords a sufficient commentary.

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xiii

ENDYMION PORTER, BY DOBSON	PAGE 109
--------------------------------------	-------------

This noted diplomatist and connoisseur in art had a Spanish mother and was brought up in Spain. He was employed in several diplomatic missions in that country, and was a devoted Royalist.

PART OF A PAGE FROM HARRIOT'S "ARTIS ANALYTICÆ PRAXIS"	112
ASTROLABE OF 1574, WHICH BELONGED TO PRINCE HENRY	113
SET OF "NAPIER'S BONES"	115

The rods serve as a calculating machine by which (through the aid of numbers and their multiples of these inscribed on them) multiplication and division, as well as the extraction of square and cube root, can be performed by addition and subtraction only. The invention, like that of logarithms, was described by its inventor as devised to do away with "the tediousness of calculations," but the elaborate numbering on the rods defies any attempt at concise description. An explanation will be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XVII., p. 184.

WILLIAM HARVEY (painter unknown)	117
SCOLD'S BRANK, WITH TONGUE PIECES	119

Used either as a punishment for scolding women, or to prevent alleged witches from crying out while being burnt. The tongue pieces represent three degrees of punishment; one is quite smooth, the others spiked, so as to pierce the flesh when the mouth is opened. They fit into the front of the brank or bridle.

TWO WITCHES DISCOVERED	121
----------------------------------	-----

The frontispiece of Matthew Hopkins's "Discovery of Witches:" a defence, in the form of question and answer, to objections "which have been or are likely to be brought against him." In March, 1644, he states, seven or eight witches had their meetings every six weeks, on Friday nights, near his house, and offered their sacrifices to the devil. Hearing one of these witches bid her imps go to another witch, he had her seized and searched by women for certain well-known "witch-marks." These being found, the magistrate ordered that she should be kept awake for two or three nights, "expecting in that time to see her familiars, which the fourth night she called in by their several names," and told the watchers their shapes before they came in. This witch is shown on the spectator's left calling her familiar "Holt," the white kitten by her; "Vinegar Tom," "when this discoverer spoke to [him] and bade him go to the place provided for him and his angels," took the shape of a headless child of four years old, gave half-a-dozen turns about the house, and vanished at the door. Her other familiars are "Jarmara" (like a legless spaniel), "Sack and sugar," and "Newes." She then implicated other witches and named their familiars, "whose names no mortal could invent," and they were induced to call them up similarly. One of these, with the spirits whose names showed their diabolical origin, is on the right of the page. Hopkins, who seems to have believed in his own powers, undertook to clear a town of witches for 20s., expenses included. He promised not to accept confessions obtained by torture, promises, or leading questions; but his method above described probably caused more suffering than physical torture would.

A WITCH AND HER FAMILIARS	122
-------------------------------------	-----

From an illustrated MS. of "Dæmonologia: a discourse on witchcraft as it was acted in the family of Mr. Edward Fairfax of Fuyston in the County of York in the year 1621." The author's two daughters,

	PAGE
Helen, aged 21, and Elizabeth, aged 7, and a child of twelve, Maud Jeffray, fell into trances, in which they saw and audibly conversed with the devil and seven witches and their familiars. Six of the witches, who were known as residents in the neighbourhood, were prosecuted at York Assizes, but acquitted under direction of the judge, the evidence being insufficient. Fairfax, who was not an extreme believer in witchcraft, then published his narrative. It has been edited by William Grainge (Harrogate, 1882) and for the Philobiblon Society of London (1854). Imposture was suspected at the time, but the girls were probably subject to some nervous disease. The figures of birds seem to be merely decorative.	
VIEW OF OXFORD ABOUT 1615	125
Taken from nearly the same place (above New Hinksey, to the W.S.W. of the city) as Turner's famous view.	
NEVILLE'S COURT, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE (<i>see text</i>)	126
THE GARDEN FRONT, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD	127
Taken from the north.	
BUST OF SIR THOMAS BODLEY	129
THE AUTHORISED VERSION: DR. JOHN RAINOLDS.	131
THE AUTHORISED VERSION: DR. THOMAS HOLLAND	132
THE AUTHORISED VERSION: JOHN KING, BISHOP OF LONDON	133
These three took part in the preparation of the new translation.	
JOHN SELDEN (painter unknown)	137
SIR KENELM DIGBY (by Vandyck)	139
TITLE-PAGE TO CORYAT'S "CRUDITIES," 1611	141
The pictures are, more or less, burlesques of incidents of his travels. At top, on the left, Coryat crossing the Channel (a rough passage of seven hours); at the bottom of the same side (B), Coryat travelling in a cart between Montreuil and Abbeville (twenty miles—five hours); opposite on the right (C), saddle-horse awaiting him; on the left side, Coryat carried over the pass between Aiguebelle and Chambery in Savoy, in a <i>chaise à porteur</i> (D); opposite again, an adventure in Venice (E), a woman whom he had offended, pelting him with eggs as he left her house in his gondola; opposite, in the left-hand column (G), the result of trying to convert a Jew, also in Venice (this is a humorous exaggeration, as, according to the text, Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador, passed the Ghetto in a gondola just in time to save Coryat from violence); above the other Venetian episode on the right (H), the indignant owner of a vineyard assaulting Coryat for helping himself to grapes; above this, Coryat's travelling dress (I), very much the worse for wear; below, in the centre, his portrait, with France, Italy, and Germany paying him doubtful compliments (L); at top, on the left, Coryat "lying in livery" with his horses unsaddled (M); on the right, "being in fear to be robbed, he most learnedly begs" (N). The pictures are explained in humorous distichs.	
TITLE-PAGE TO BURTON'S "ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY," 1628	144
RUINS OF BACON'S HOUSE, NEAR ST. ALBANS	146
The house is in Gorhambury Park, and was erected by Bacon in 1601. The present house dates from 1778.	

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xv

BACON'S MONUMENT, ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, ST. ALBANS	PAGE 147
Erected by his friend and secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys; the resemblance is certified by the inscription "sic sedebat"—thus he sat.	
BUST OF SHAKESPEARE, STRATFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH	148
This bust, attributed to Gerard Johnson, is "a rudely carved specimen of mortuary sculpture; the round face and eyes present a heavy, unintellectual expression, and it has no claim to be regarded as an accurate likeness" (Sidney Lee, in <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i>). Still, it and the portrait in the Folio of 1623 are the only representations of the poet that are fully authenticated (<i>ibid.</i>). See note on illustration, Vol. III., p. 717.	
THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1612	149
From a print reproduced by Wilkinson in 1810 from Visscher's large view of London, 1612. A patent to perform plays here was granted to William Shakespeare and others by James I., in 1603. The thatch of the building caught fire in 1612; it was burnt down, and a new theatre was erected in 1613.	
PORTRAIT OF BEN JONSON (an old copy from Gerard Honthorst)	150
GEORGE CHAPMAN	151
DEKKER DREAMING	152
From the frontispiece of "Dekker his Dreeme," a poem interspersed with prose passages, dedicated to Endymion Porter, and published in 1620. It is a vision of the Last Day and the final judgment of souls, in which, however, classic imagery is mixed with Christian. Mr. J. O. Halliwell, who reprinted the poem, thought that the portrait was almost certainly that of Dekker.	
JOHN MILTON, FROM A MINIATURE	157
FRUIT TRENCHERS OF THE JACOBEOAN PERIOD to face	160
GOING TO MARKET (<i>see</i> note to illustration on p. 7)	160
TITLE-PAGE TO GERVASE MARKHAM'S "CAVALARICE," 1617	161
HOW TO LAY OUT A GARDEN	162
Gervase Markham (1568-1637), reputed "the first hack-writer," wrote books on horsemanship, horticulture, and drill, and was something of a poet. He seems to have bred horses, and is said to have been the first to import the Arab breed into England.	
THE FENS UNDRAINED	165
THE FENS DRAINED	167
BRASS OF THOMAS HAMON, M.P., MAYOR OF RYE, 1607	169
The name indicates that he or his ancestors were of French extraction, probably refugees.	
THE STEELYARD (OR STILLIARD)	171
Of this famous settlement of the Hanse Merchants (<i>cf.</i> Vol. I., p. 743, Vol. II., p. 523) the last relics were swept away by the construction of Cannon Street Station. Its history has been written by J. M. Lappenberg (<i>Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofs zu London</i> , 1851).	
THE CLOTH MARKET, LEEDS, 1640	173
Demolished in 1890; part of the site (opposite the Midland Railway station) is now occupied by the General Post Office. The entrance was in Park Row	

	PAGE
AN ALDERMAN (<i>see</i> note to illustration on p. 7)	174
WINDING OFF SILK	175
From a translation, published in 1607 by N. Geffe, of a work on silk and silkworms, by Olivier des Serres (1539-1619), Seigneur de Pradel, an eminent French nobleman of the sixteenth century, who devoted himself to the scientific study of agriculture, as a relief from the religious controversies of the time. His work on silk was published in 1599; his chief work, <i>Théâtre d'Agriculture</i>, in 1600.	
FLAX DRESSING	177
From the most popular educational work of the great Moravian educational reformer, the Czech John Amos Komensky, better known as Comenius, the advocate of natural methods in education. One of his principles was that the teaching of words should always be conjoined with that of things, and this book contains elementary lessons in Latin, together with pictures of the subjects of the lessons. It was translated into many languages, and was for some time the most popular school book in Europe. Comenius was specially known in England from his efforts to start a college of science in London, which were cut short by the outbreak of the Civil Wars. Among the biographies of him the most convenient is that of Prof. S. S. Laurie (Pitt Press Series, 1899).	
A SUSSEX IRON FOUNDRY, 1636	179
One of the series of firebacks in Lewes Museum, of which examples have already been given, Vol. II., p. 552, and Vol. III., pp. 211, 748. This example represents Richard Leonard of "Bred Fournis" with his dog, trade mark, furnace and tools; and is interesting as being the only known representation of a Sussex iron foundry. Cf. Starkie Gardiner in <i>Archæologia</i>, Vol. LVI.	
BAKERS AT WORK	181
From a MS. book of rules of the Company of Bakers, 1596. The double-page illustration, of which half is here given, shows the career of the virtuous apprentice. Below the original is the distich, "Whoso observeth these precepts well, In heaven shall have his place to dwell."	
THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON (from the same view as the Steelyard) .	183
THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS' HOUSE, MIDDELBURG, HOLLAND.	184
This house was purchased by the City of Middelburg in 1516 from one Andries Andriesz, and was eventually sold to Prince William of Orange, but repurchased in 1582 for 14,000 florins. The Scottish or English "Court," a community of merchants settled at Middelburg under a contract with the authorities dated September 25, 1582, had the house assigned to them for a residence. In 1621 these merchants quitted Middelburg, and one of the rooms was then assigned to the English Nonconformist refugees (presumably as a chapel), while the rest was taken over by the West India Company, so that the building came to be called the West India House. In 1636 part of it became a Mont de Piété, or public pawnbroking office, a function it still fulfils. A settlement of English merchants or "English House" at Middelburg is mentioned as early as 1512, but its site is unknown. The English (? Nonconformist) residents at Middelburg had the chapel of the building, called "Cellebroers," previously a factory of tapestry of some celebrity, assigned for their use in 1629. Other places of worship assigned to English use in Middelburg were the "Grothnerkerk" and the "Vischmarktkerk." The mention of Scottish merchants as using this house is probably an error, as the regular	

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xvii

PAGE

Scottish settlement was at Veere, near Middelburg. For the above information the Editor is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. O. Swaving, Gemeinde-Archivär, Middelburg.

CALICUT	185
THE ATROCITIES AT AMBOYNA (<i>see text</i>)	189
A SATIRE ON GILES MOMPESSEON, MONOPOLIST (<i>see text</i>)	193
(1) Mompesson approaching an inn; the landlady opposes, fearing he will threaten to cancel her licence in order to extort money; (2) Mompesson running away from a gaoler (after Parliament had dealt with him); (3) Mompesson after his punishment.	
THE POOR MAN AND THE DEVIL (<i>see text</i>)	198
A ballad, published about 1630.	
IN AN ALEHOUSE	199
From a ballad in praise of "the little Barleycorn," published c. 1645.	
THE CUNNING NORTHERN BEGGAR	199
From a ballad of about 1635; he describes how he disguises himself as a cripple, a wounded soldier, a sailor plundered by the Dunkirk privateers, an epileptic, a blind man, or a victim of fire.	
LIBERALITY (<i>see note on illustration, p. 177</i>)	203
ARCHBISHOP ABBOT'S HOSPITAL, GUILDFORD	205
Founded by the Archbishop in 1619 to set the poor to work.	
NAVE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S (<i>see note on p. 39</i>)	207
A PRESCRIPTION AGAINST THE PLAGUE	210
THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1625	213
ANNE OF DENMARK, TRINITY HOUSE (probably by Zuechero)	215
JAMES I., PRINCE HENRY, AND A YEOMAN OF THE GUARD	216
<i>See note to illustration on p. 7.</i>	
THE EARL OF SOMERSET AND LADY ESSEX	217
CHILDREN OF CHARLES I. <i>to face</i>	218
Charles, Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), aged 7, has his hand on the dog's head; Mary, mother of William III., aged 6, on the left; James (afterwards James II.), aged 4; Elizabeth, aged 2 (she died at Carisbrooke Castle); Anne, aged 1, who died in infancy. The original, by Vandyck, is at Windsor Castle.	
SIR THOMAS OVERBURY	218
A LADY OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND (by Hollar)	219
DRESSES FOR MASQUES, DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES	222, 223
The originals are at Chatsworth; these illustrations are reproduced from Peter Cunningham's <i>Life of Inigo Jones</i> , 1848.	
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	225
1, Clarion, a high-pitched trumpet. 2, French flageolet, a whistle-headed flute, played sometimes by ladies; Pepys (<i>Diary</i> , March 1, 1666) records that his wife had a master for it. 3, Virginal, specially a	

woman's instrument, whence probably its name. Its predecessor was the psaltery, a shallow box strung with wires, played by the fingers or a plectrum. In the Virginal the wires are plucked by a piece of leather or quill inserted into a slip of wood called the "jack." When the key is depressed the jack at the other end rises, and the string is sounded; on releasing the key the jack falls silently, and the string is muted by a piece of cloth. 4, Treble viol. 5, Tenor viol. 7, Bass viol (*viol da gamba*). The viol differs from the violin in having deeper ribs, a flat back, five, six, or seven strings, and "frets," or pieces of gut tied across the finger board, as in the lute and guitar. Viols were kept in "chests" consisting of two trebles, two tenors, and two basses. 6, Hunting horn. 8, Hautboy, or waight, the successor of the shawm, used by the peripatetic watchmen and waits.

A-PROMISE AND A TRIUMPH	227
A passage in William Prynne's "<i>Histriomastix</i>," attacking stage plays, had been taken as a reflection on the queen's character, and he had been sentenced to imprisonment for life in the Tower, degradation from his degree, a heavy fine, and the loss of his ears (1634). In the Tower he wrote an unsigned attack on the Bishop of Norwich, as part of the penalty for which on June 30, 1635, he was pilloried with John Bastwick (charged with attacking the bishops) and Henry Burton, charged with preaching seditious sermons. His entry into London was the result of his petition for redress to the Long Parliament which cancelled the two sentences.	
THE HALL, LUDLOW CASTLE	228
The castle, for many years the residence of royalty, was subsequently occupied by the Lord President of Wales and the Marches, and it was before the Earl of Bridgwater, the holder of that office, that Milton's <i>Comus</i> was first performed in this hall in May, 1633. See also note on illustration, Vol. II., p. 423.	
THE BURNING OF THE BOOK OF SPORTS (see <i>post</i> , note on p. 345)	229
WOMEN'S DRESS UNDER CHARLES I. (by Hollar)	231
A LADY MASKED	232
GLOVES OF THE TIME OF JAMES I.	233
COSTUME OF LADY AND CHILD (see note on p. 122)	235
MIDDLE CLASS COSTUME UNDER CHARLES I.	237
JOHN KNOX	239
Painter uncertain; on a panel.	
THE DOOR OF THE OLD TOLBOOTH	241
When the old Tolbooth or jail of Edinburgh, made famous by the "Heart of Midlothian," was pulled down in 1817, the door was presented to Sir Walter Scott, and erected at Abbotsford, where it still remains.	
JENNY GEDDES'S STOOL	242
Given to the Scottish Antiquarian Society in 1818 by a Mr. J. A. Watson, who asserted that it was used in the High Kirk of Edinburgh by Jenny Geddes, presumably as a missile. It is dated 1565.	
MEDAL OF THE UNION OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH CROWNS	244

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xix

TYPICAL SCOTTISH CASTLES	PAGE 245
------------------------------------	-------------

The simplest type of Scottish residential "fortalice" is the square keep, to which turrets and wings are added as the first step to comfort, but in the seventeenth century Scottish architects had progressed far beyond this. Glamis Castle, of which no extant part dates beyond the fifteenth century, was built chiefly between 1578 and 1615; it has been compared with Chantilly. Its site is associated vaguely with the murder of Duncan by Macbeth, more definitely with that of Malcolm II., and it contains the famous secret chamber, popularly supposed to be haunted, but in fact meant as a refuge in time of danger, the entrance of which is known only to the owner, the heir, and one other person to whom it is imparted. Craigston Castle, built 1604-1607, is described as consisting of a main block with two wings thrown out to the front, and joined by an arch surmounted by an ornate balcony. Wintoun House (1620), attributed to William Wallace, the first builder of Heriot's Hospital, shows considerable English influence; Pitreavie House (between 1615 and 1644) is "an advanced type of seventeenth century planning, and a perfect contrast to the tall, vaulted towers of the previous and even the same century." Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, II.

MORAY HOUSE, EDINBURGH	247
----------------------------------	-----

Cromwell had quarters in this house, both before and after the battle of Dunbar. It is a good example of a sixteenth century town house, and is now a theological college.

THE TRON STEEPLE, GLASGOW	248
-------------------------------------	-----

The name is derived from the "tron," or public weighing machine, which was on the ground floor till about 1850. The steeple belonged to the collegiate church of St. Thomas, built in 1525 and burnt down in 1793.

LAIRD'S GALLERY, PITSLIGO CHURCH, ABERDEENSHIRE	250
---	-----

Re-erected in the new church.

PANELS FROM CRAFTSMEN'S GALLERIES IN CHURCHES	251, 252
---	----------

The painting from Crail Church, Fifeshire, of a sailor using an astrolabe, was found about 1880, forming part of the floor of the church, but one of the parishioners remembered a time when it adorned the front of a gallery. Its date, however, is probably about 1756. There were originally six trades' lofts in Crail Church. Beveridge, *Churchyard Memorials of Crail* (privately printed), 1893. The galleries in Burntisland Church bore trade symbols till a restoration in 1822; those of the shoemakers and hammermen alone remain.

SACKCLOTH GOWN OF REPENTANCE (from the church of West Calder)	253
---	-----

RELICS OF DAILY LIFE	255
--------------------------------	-----

The tankard is etched with figures of goats feeding, and inscribed "J. Wolff, 1601." The wooden cup was found above the ceiling in Mary of Guise's house in Edinburgh. The candlesticks are of stone. One has a tailor's scissors and "goose" in relief and the date 1646. The spoons were found at Culrain, Ross-shire; two are dated 1617, and they are marked I.S.

A SCOTCHWOMAN.—THE BONNIE SCOT IN ENGLAND	257
---	-----

The dress of the Scot corresponds fairly well with the text, but the illustration comes from a ballad published about 1690.

SECTION OF A MAP OF SCOTLAND	PAGE 261
From the great atlas, in eleven volumes, first published in 1662, of Jan Blaeu, a map maker of Amsterdam, whose father, Willem Blaeu, was even more distinguished as a maker of terrestrial globes.	
THE DEMAND FOR SCOTTISH COAL	263
From a pamphlet entitled "Artificial Fire," London, 1644, giving illustrated directions for making what are now called briquettes from small coal. The author says that London ladies used formerly to dislike the use of coal for cooking or warming rooms; now it is indispensable, but the war has made it so scarce that a substitute must be found, so he has devised these. Scottish coal, he adds, must be mixed with the fuel to make it burn.	
TOMB OF SIR GEORGE BRUCE, CULROSS CHURCH	265
Sir George Bruce of Carnock gave a great impulse to the prosperity of the town by establishing collieries and saltworks. On one occasion he took James I. down his mine and brought him up unexpectedly through the shaft, which was sunk in the Forth and enclosed in a circular wall. On emerging on to this artificial island the king suspected a conspiracy, and had to be prevented by hasty explanations from using his sword against his host. The monument is modelled on that of Lord Kinloss, Sir George's elder brother, in the Rolls Chapel.	
SCOTTISH BRIDGES	267
The "Twa Brigs o' Ayr" are immortalised by Burns; the older bridge is in front. The Brig of Balgownie, two miles from Aberdeen, over the Don, was built by Bishop Cheyne, or by King Robert Bruce, about 1320, and is mentioned by Byron in "Don Juan." For Berwick, <i>see</i> the text.	
AN IRISHWOMAN	269
GREENCASTLE, CO. DONEGAL	270
Erected 1305 by Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, to keep down the O'Dohertys and O'Donnells; granted to Sir Arthur Chichester in 1610.	
CHARLEMONT FORT	271
From a MS. of coloured plans, by Nicholas Pynnar, entitled "State of the Fortes of Ireland as they weare in the yeare 1624." This fort was constructed by Lord Mountjoy in 1602, as a check on the Earl of Tyrone. Lord Caulfield, who erected stronger buildings, was seized and murdered here in 1642 by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who held the fort till 1650.	
PAGE FROM THE "ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS"	275
Showing the writing of Michael O'Clery.	
HIBERNO-ROMANESQUE DOORWAY OF KILMORE CATHEDRAL	276
Brought from the ruins of Trinity Abbey, on one of the islands in Lough Oughter, and erected in the cathedral of Kilmore, when it was rebuilt as a memorial of Bishop Bedell in 1858-60.	
CLOUGHUGHTER CASTLE NEAR CAVAN	279
Bishop Bedell was confined in this castle, which is on an island in Lough Oughter, by the O'Reillys in the wars of 1641.	
THE LAST OF THE STAR CHAMBER (see <i>post</i> , note on p. 345)	281
PRINCE RUPERT, BY SIR PETER LELY	283

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xxi

BATTLEFIELD OF ROUNDWAY DOWN, WILTS	PAGE 284
Waller, who was besieging Devizes, withdrew to Roundway Down (above the town) in order to oppose a relieving force of cavalry under Wilmot, and charged down upon it, but was badly defeated, and his infantry were compelled to surrender.	
THE HAMPDEN JEWEL	285
A cornelian set in silver, containing a "posy"—"Against my king I never fight But for my king and country's right." (The sense depends on the punctuation after "fight.") Webb, <i>Civil War in Herefordshire</i>, I., 143, note.	
SIR WILLIAM WALLER (painter unknown)	286
BATTLEFIELD OF MARSTON MOOR, YORKSHIRE	287
The Parliamentary army, which was besieging York, marched out to the hill overlooking Marston Moor, seven miles west of the city, to engage the relieving force under Prince Rupert. He, however, evaded them, reached York, brought with him the beleaguered force, and appeared on the moor below them, inviting battle, but not attacking. For some hours the armies confronted each other till, between 6 and 7 p.m., the Parliamentary troops charged, taking their adversaries unawares at supper time, and completely routed them—at once on the centre and right, and eventually on the left also.	
ACCOUTREMENTS OF CHARLES I. AND PRINCE RUPERT AT WISTOW HALL	291
Charles I. stayed here for a night after the battle of Naseby.	
CORNET JOYCE	292
HOLDENBY HOUSE, NORTHANTS	293
Originally built for Sir Christopher Hatton by John of Padua, this became a royal residence under James I., and was afterwards the property of the great Duke of Marlborough. It has been rebuilt on a much smaller scale than the original, parts of which, however, have been incorporated with the present structure.	
CARISBROOKE CASTLE	295
There was probably a fortress here in pre-Roman times; the oldest part of the present structure is Norman.	
BRADSHAW'S BULLET-PROOF HAT	296
Bradshaw, who presided at the king's trial, expected to be shot at from the galleries of Westminster Hall, and wore this beaver hat, lined with steel, as a protection. S. R. Gardiner, <i>History of the Great Civil War</i>, IV., p. 299.	
EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.	297
He stepped on to the scaffold probably from the central window of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, attended only by Bishop Juxon. Colonels Hacker and Tomlinson, with the executioner and his assistant (both the latter masked), were also there. The scaffold was guarded by soldiers, the crowd being in sympathy with the king.	
GENERAL HENRY IRETON. (By Robert Walker)	300
DEATH WARRANT OF CHARLES I.	301
Mr. W. J. Thoms (<i>Notes and Queries</i>, 4th S., X., pp. 1, 21, republished as a pamphlet) states that the warrant is in many of its important parts written over erasures and by a different hand, and concludes	

	PAGE
that fifteen of its fifty-nine signatures were attached later than its ostensible date, to get a good show of support for the execution. He adds that, even if the trial was legal, the execution under such a document certainly was not.	
OLIVER CROMWELL (by Samuel Cooper)	303
THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (by Sir Peter Lely)	306
LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND (by Vandyck)	307
Though the portrait is inscribed "Henry Carey," no doubt seems to be entertained that this is Lucius Carey, not his father Henry, the first Viscount.	
PARLIAMENTARIAN HELMETS	310
Found in digging the foundation of houses in Maidstone; doubtless relics of its storming by Fairfax. From the back part they are known as "lobster-tailed."	
MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CIVIL WARS	311
BRISTOL IN 1670 (from a contemporary plan)	312
SIR JACOB ASTLEY (Sutherland Collection: <i>see post</i> , note on p. 477)	313
FIGURES FROM NEADE'S "DOUBLE-ARMED MAN" (<i>see text</i>)	314, 315
ARTILLERISTS AT WORK <i>to face</i>	316
From a French MS., entitled "Description entière de ce en quoy principalement consiste l'Artillerie et équipages d'icelle." Prefixed is an order of the Grand Master of Artillery, Maximilien de Béthune, Marquis de Rosny, dated "Au Camp de Mans, le 2 ^e Août, 1620." The MS. also contains coloured drawings of artillery on the march, of the appliances used for the wounded, and of the arrangements for saying mass on active service.	
POSITIONS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE ILE DE RHÉ	316
Buckingham landed at the south-east point of the island, and eventually, after failing to reduce the fort of St. Martin, re-embarked from the east point of the Ile de Loix. He arrived on July 10, and left on October 30	
PIKEMAN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	317
MUSKETRY DRILL	319
DRAGOONS FIRING FROM HORSEBACK	321
From a broadsheet signed by Nathaniel Burt, which contends that dragoons may do good service by firing without dismounting; (1) by hanging on the rear of a retreating enemy, the files being in open order; the front rank then fires, the second passes up through it and fires in its turn, and so on; or (2), when themselves retreating, the rear rank facing about, delivering its fire, and then wheeling for the next rank to do likewise. The whole shows that the dragoons were generally regarded merely as mounted infantry.	
NATHANIEL FIENNES	323
This portrait is the only known representation of the costume of an officer under the Commonwealth.	
HOPTON CASTLE, HEREFORDSHIRE	325
Near the Shropshire border. With Brampton Bryan House (<i>text</i> , p. 436), it was a refuge for sympathisers with the Parliament, and was defended by Samuel More of Linley with only thirty-one soldiers	

against a greatly superior Royalist force, partly consisting of Irish, under Sir Michael Woodhouse, from February 18 to March 13, 1643. They were then forced to capitulate, and were all barbarously massacred. T. W. Webb, *Civil War in Herefordshire*, I., 387.

AN ARMY IN FORMAL BATTLE ARRAY 327

This illustration represents the formal order of battle of a small army of eighteen squadrons of horse, ten and a half regiments of foot, and eighteen guns. (Hutham's regiment is incomplete, having only half the force of the other ten.) It will be noticed that there is an advanced guard of a regiment of foot ("The Gards"), three squadrons and six guns. Then comes the first line, divided according to the old fashion into "Main-Battail," "Rearguard" and "Vanguard." The latter terms only mean left and right wing respectively, and have no real sense except for marching. There are second and third lines, the former composed of three and a half regiments of foot, the latter of three. In each corps the pikemen are drawn up in front of the musketeers. The horse is formed in equal halves on the flanks of the foot, and the main force of artillery, twelve guns, with an escort of one squadron of horse, is in rear of all. The names above the regiments are those of their colonels. The whole is a scheme (never really carried out) for Charles I.'s army against the Scots in 1639. For the above note the Editor is indebted to Prof. Oman.

PARLIAMENTARY STANDARDS 328, 329

From a print entitled "The Devises, Mottoes, etc., used by the Parliament officers on standards, banners, etc., in the late Civil Wars, taken from an original MS. done at that time, and now in the hands of Mr. Benjamin Cole, of Oxford."

ROYALIST STANDARDS 330

From a sheet published in 1722, and intended to accompany Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion."

SOLDIERS OF THE "NEW MODEL" 331

Carved in oak on the staircase of Cromwell House, Highgate.

MEMORIAL RINGS OF CHARLES I. 333

GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH 335

On the obverse a map of the British Isles, with a fleet of warships; on the reverse the House of Commons in session.

SEAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR 337

On the obverse the symbols of England, Scotland, and Ireland, below an escutcheon with a lion rampant, the arms of Cromwell. Below a motto, "Peace is sought by war." On the reverse the Protector on horseback, with view of London.

OLIVER CROMWELL PREACHING 339

From a Dutch print; probably referring to the story that Cromwell preached after the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651. The Protector wears a triple crown, surmounted by a plume of peacock's feathers; he apparently has a tail, so that he combines papal and diabolical characteristics; a spirit is by his side, adjuring him; a battle (of Worcester?) is seen through one window, a conference on the seashore through the other; on the panel of the pulpit Charles I. rising from the grave, and presenting a book to Cromwell.

CAST OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S FACE 341

Stated to be from a wax original at Warwick Castle. A similar "death mask," the authenticity of which has been questioned, is exhibited at the British Museum.

SEAL OF RICHARD CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR	PAGE 342
The face is slightly altered from the seal used by his father, as is also the inscription on the reverse.	
ICONOCLASM	345
From a Puritan pamphlet, published in 1648, entitled "The True Information of the beginning and cause of all our troubles," containing a grossly exaggerated account of the behaviour of the English army on their march to York in 1639, as depicted here. Some of the illustrations in the pamphlet, including that here given, are ascribed to Hollar, others are clearly not by him.	
PULLING DOWN CHEAPSIDE CROSS (from the same pamphlet)	346
THE SECTARIES AND THE BIBLE (from a satirical print of 1641) . .	347
EXECUTION OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND OTHERS (by Hollar)	349
From the pamphlet mentioned above, in the note to p. 345.	
ARCHBISHOP JUXON (by Vandyck)	352
VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PRACTICE, 1644	355
The Familists were members of the "Family of Love," an Anabaptist sect, possibly of Dutch origin, whose tenets were introduced into England, probably by one Henry Nicholas, in the reign of Edward VI. But severe measures had been taken against them in 1580, and they seem to have nearly died out at this date. The Adamites of this period are hardly identifiable: a sect of the name existed in the second century, and attempts to return to a state of primitive innocence in costume (accompanied with a profession of sinlessness) have been made by eccentric religionists down to our own time. The Libertines were Antinomian Anabaptists; the Seekers denied that any true Church existed, and professed to expect one. The Divorcers "would be quit of their wives for slight occasions."	
A PROTEST AGAINST TOLERATION	357
The legend in the mouths of the figures and the text beneath indicate a fear that the Independents will put down Presbyterianism if tolerated at all.	
A PERSECUTED QUAKER	360
Attributed to Hollar in Parthey's Catalogue, but very doubtful.	
A QUAKERS' MEETING (from a satirical print)	361
DUNKIRK ABOUT 1641 (from Sanderus, <i>Flandria Illustrata</i> , 1641-1644) .	365
A SATIRE ON THE NAVIGATION ACT OF 1652	369
From a contemporary Dutch print entitled "A Curious Game of Backgammon." Cromwell, with a collar of deaths' heads and crossbones, in allusion to the execution of Charles I., expresses his satisfaction at his first throw of the dice. Holland, opposite, remarks, "It may change;" Spain, with folded arms, says, "I rest;" France, seated at the table, expresses inability to play again; Denmark proposes to play; Scotland says, "It is not lost;" Ireland declares for Holland; Portugal gives up playing. The jesters are ridiculing the war. Cromwell's Navigation Act led to war with Holland; Spain could rest, as her old enemies were engaged; France gave way to Cromwell, while Denmark took part by intercepting a fleet laden with ammunition for England; Scotland and Ireland were desirous of siding with Holland through their hostility to Cromwell; Portugal preferred to keep out of war and attain her ends by treaties. <i>Cf. Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires</i> [Prints] <i>in the British Museum</i> , I., No. 844. The letters refer to the accompanying Dutch text.	

ROBERT BLAKE (as a young man; afterwards Admiral)	PAGE 371
Bought by Wadham College (of which Blake was a member) in 1826. "Its authenticity rests on tradition, which may be said to be confirmed by internal evidence" (J. Wells, <i>Wadham College</i>), and it is at any rate one of the two best attested portraits of the hero. Prof. J. K. Laughton, however, doubts if cravats were yet worn in England when Blake was young (<i>Dict of National Biography</i>).	
MICHAEL ADRIENSZOOM DE RUYTER (by Blooteling)	372
GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE	373
SEAFIGHT IN A HARBOUR, BY VANDEVELDE to face	374
One of a series of five pictures, of which four are at Hampton Court, depicting engagements at morning, noon, sunset, and night.	
MEDAL FOR THE NAVAL ACTIONS OF 1653	374
These medals were issued in commemoration of the naval victories over the Dutch in February, June, and July, 1653, and were presented to Blake, Monk, Penn, and Lawson. Smaller medals of similar device, but with less decoration, were presented to the flag officers and captains engaged. This is the first English example of such a presentation.	
BILBOES (one end locks to the floor, the other confines the ankles)	375
TOKEN COINS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE	376
Under the Commonwealth there was no official copper currency, and tokens, issued by tradesmen or others, supplied its place. This example bears the arms of the Cobham family, whose seat is near Rochester. The farthing was officially coined under the Protectorate.	
MAP OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK IN 1666	380
MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL (by Rembrandt)	382
A DEBTORS' PRISON (from a broadside of 1644)	384
COINS OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD, COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE	386, 387
Page 386: Commonwealth twenty shilling gold piece. "Broad" of the Protectorate, 1656; motto on the reverse, "Pax queritur bello" (peace is sought by war), with the arms of the three kingdoms and of the Lord Protector. Page 387: <i>f</i> , £3 piece, struck in 1643, at the mint set up in New Inn Hall, Oxford. The quotation on the reverse is from Psalm lxviii. 1, and the inscription ("The Protestant Religion, the Law of England, the Liberty of Parliament") has reference to the king's declaration to the Privy Council at Wellington, on September 19th, 1642. The gold of these pieces is said to have come largely from the Welsh mines. <i>a</i> , Silver crown from Shrewsbury mint, with a similar inscription. <i>e</i> , Gold crown from York mint, marked EBOR. <i>c</i> , Colchester piece (unique) with gateway of Colchester Castle. <i>d</i> , Siege-piece of Beeston Castle, value fourteen pence, with the gateway (or, according to some authorities, of Lathom House). <i>b</i> , Lozenge-shaped shilling of Pontefract, with view of castle and motto "Dum spiro spero" (While I breathe, I hope).	
TITLE-PAGE TO HOBBS'S "LEVIATHAN"	389
This embodies Hobbes's theory that the State is essentially a Person composed of all its members, who have so completely surrendered their own wills to it as to render it absolutely despotic over them. The State is also the Church, in his view, and temporal power involves spiritual supremacy. The compartments on each side are emblematic of civil and ecclesiastical power respectively. The fourth on the right side represents the then discredited logic of the medieval	

schools, and the fifth a meeting of Jesuits. Hobbes's theory of the State necessarily made him as hostile to Romanism as to Republicanism.	PAGE
THOMAS HOBBS (by John Michael Wright)	393
THE GATEWAY, WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD	397
The philosophical club, which developed into the Royal Society, met first at Wadham College, and, according to tradition, in the rooms over this gateway. Mr. J. Wells (<i>Wadham College</i> , 1898), however, decides that the meeting took place in one of the rooms of the present lodgings of the Warden.	
KING CHARLES THE MARTYR	399
WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH (Sutherland Collection: see <i>post</i> on p. 447) .	401
THOMAS FULLER	403
TITLE-PAGE TO THOMAS FULLER'S "HOLY WARRE" (the Crusades) .	405
ILLUSTRATION TO JEREMY TAYLOR'S "HOLY DYING"	406
Probably the clergyman is Jeremy Taylor himself, and the lady the Countess of Carberry, whose funeral sermon he preached. The quotations are from James v. 23, and (modified) from Matt. xxiv. 42.	
RICHARD BAXTER (painter unknown)	408
SIR THOMAS BROWNE	411
From his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," sixth edition.	
SIR JOHN SUCKLING (attributed to Dobson)	415
SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE (painter unknown)	418
MONUMENT OF ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON	421
TOMB AND EFFIGY OF ROBERT SOUTH	423
SAINTS AND SINNERS	427
THE SOLDIER'S POCKET BIBLE	428
Texts from Scripture selected and arranged under headings, to illustrate the obligations of a soldier: <i>e.g.</i> "A souldier must not doe wickedly . . . must be valiant for God's cause . . . must denie his own wisdom, his own strength, and all provision for war . . . must pray before he goes to fight," etc.	
THE BULL- AND BEAR-BAITING RINGS, BANKSIDE	429
Bear-baiting was prohibited by James I. on Sundays, and stopped altogether at the end of 1642, partly on the ground of the troublous times, and partly because the keeper of the bear-garden had resorted to intimidation to secure signatures to a petition in favour of peace.	
OLIVER CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT	431
The Protector is accompanied by Lambert, Cooper, and Strickland; he is also represented as driving out with the mace a strange bird, presumably emblematic of the Parliament. General Worsley is directing the clerks to remove the books, and Harrison is dragging the Speaker from his chair. The poodle is probably a caricature of the British lion. The owl is said to be a satire on the committeemen of the time. (<i>Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires</i> [Prints] in <i>the British Museum</i> , I., No. 858.)	

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

xxvii

ELIZABETH, MOTHER OF OLIVER CROMWELL	PAGE 434
Her maiden name was Steward; she has been supposed to have been of kin to the Stuart kings, but the family is only traceable to certain Stywards of Norfolk.	
ELIZABETH, WIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL	435
She was the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, a city merchant; the portrait was reproduced by the Protector's descendant and namesake, in his "Memoirs of the Protector, and of his Sons Richard and Henry," published in 1821.	
CASTLES DEFENDED BY THEIR CHÂTELAINES	437
For Brampton Bryan <i>see</i> the text. Corfe Castle was approached by a force of seamen from Poole in 1643, charged to demand from Lady Bankes (Sir John being with the king) the surrender of the four small cannon which formed its armament; but the five men in the castle, with the maid-servants, mounted the guns and put the seamen to flight. The castle was soon after besieged by a force of some 600 men, who were repeatedly driven back by the garrison of 80 (furnished by Prince Maurice). In their last (nocturnal) assault, the upper ward of the castle was successfully defended by Lady Bankes herself, "with her daughters, women, and five souldiers." The besiegers hastily retired on August 4. A second siege took place in 1645-6, and was only terminated by the treachery of one of the defenders. Lady Bankes, with her children, was allowed to depart in safety. Wardour Castle was held for the king in May, 1643, by Lady Arundel of Wardour and 25 men against a force of 1,300 during a five days' bombardment, Lord Arundel being with the king at Oxford. The garrison surrendered when the besiegers prepared to blow in the door with petards. Colt Hoare, <i>History of Modern Wiltshire</i> , Dunworth, p. 157, quoting from a writer in <i>Mercurius Rusticus</i> , 1685.	
A FUR TIPPET, 1645	439
Several drawings of muffs and furs were done by Hollar, presumably as <i>tours de force</i> .	
A CAVALIER OF 1646	440
From a print, with sarcastic description in verse, entitled "The Picture of an English Anticke," and dated 1646.	
VIRGINAL OF 1651, FROM YORK MUSEUM	441
On the origin of the virginal <i>see</i> above, note to illustration, p. 225.	
COSTUME OF CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS	442
From "A Dialogue or rather a Parley between Prince Rupert's Dog Puddle and Tobie's Dog Pepper," 1642, which ridicules each party, but ends by the conversion of the Puritan dog to Cavalier principles. "Tobie's Dog" describes himself as "Tobie's housedog, the dog which Walker the Ironmonger so often commends for a mannerly and well-bred dog in his several Tub-lectures."	
POSTBOY	443
A woodcut decorating the first page of the <i>London Post</i> , an early newspaper, of February 4-11, 1646.	
ADVERTISEMENTS FROM "MERCURIUS POLITICUS." 1658	445, 446
THE TEMPLE, FROM THE THAMES	447

DUNS LAW	PAGE 449
The Scottish army under Leslie was encamped here in 1639, and as it barred the progress of the British forces, negotiations began, and resulted in the pacification of Berwick.	
CHARLES II. AND THE KIRK	451
A Scottish minister compels the king to stoop while "Jockie," <i>i.e.</i> the Scottish layman, turns the handle. The print is on a broadside, entitled "Old Sayings and Predictions verified and fulfilled touching the young King of Scotland and his good subjects." The lines appended predict that Charles will "a Presbyterian brother be, And vow to ratifie their Hierarchie. . . ."	
"But this religious mock we all shall see Will soon the downfall of their Babel be."	
JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE	452
MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE EXECUTION OF MONTROSE	453
To be worn by his partisans and friends as a memorial.	
MOUND FROM WHICH CROMWELL RECONNOITRED THE ENEMY'S POSITION AT DUNBAR	455
Cromwell, having failed to engage the Scottish army near Haddington, and finding his troops suffering much from sickness and difficulty in obtaining supplies, decided to occupy Dunbar as a stronghold and magazine. The Scottish troops followed him and barred his way just beyond the town, occupying Doon Hill, which commands the way southwards, and then descending to the right bank of the Broxburn, apparently intending to attack the English should they attempt to embark any of their forces. Cromwell and Lambert, reconnoitring the new position from the mound shown, which is in the grounds of Broxmouth House, decided that it gave an opportunity for attack in front and flank, which they took next day, September 3, 1650, and routed the greatly superior forces of the enemy. Gardiner, <i>Commonwealth and Protectorate</i> , I., pp. 324-327.	
THE OLD STEEPLE, DUNDEE	457
Built about the middle of the fourteenth century, though popularly ascribed to the twelfth; 156 feet in height. When General Monk attacked the town in 1651, the Royalist garrison held the tower until smoked out by a fire of burning straw. It was restored in 1872.	
SEAL OF SCOTLAND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE	458
The obverse is similar to that of the seal of Oliver Cromwell for England (p. 337), except that the arms are a saltire of St. Andrew for Scotland, and over all an escutcheon charged with the arms of Cromwell. The view on the reverse may be Edinburgh from the south-east.	
BRANKS (<i>cf.</i> note on illustration, p. 119)	461
CAP AND GOWN OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON	463
He was one of the most conspicuous opponents of Laud's attempt to introduce a service book into the Scottish Church, and he drafted the Solemn League and Covenant. He died in 1646.	
HERIOT'S HOSPITAL, EDINBURGH	465
Founded by George Heriot in 1628 as a school for poor and fatherless boys, but not completed till 1650, and then used as a hospital for	

Cromwell's soldiers after the battle of Dunbar : it was first used as a school in 1659. The design has been attributed, without evidence, to Inigo Jones, but was more probably the work of William Aytoun or William Wallace, who were concerned in building the edifice. It is a striking example of Scottish Renaissance architecture.

ENGLISH SOLDIER RAISED FOR SERVICE IN IRELAND 467

From a broadside published in 1642, entitled "The English Irish Souldier with his new discipline, new Armes, old Stomacke, and new taken pillage : who had rather eate than fight." The soldier carries a hayfork and string of sausages instead of his musket and match, and wine-bottles instead of bandoliers. Charles I.'s Irish army is known from other sources to have plundered the civil population.

IRISH ATROCITIES OF 1641 468

From a work of 1647, entitled "Ireland : a booke, together with an exact mappe, of the most principal towns, great and small, in the said Kingdom," and purporting to contain also "A true description of . . . the perfidious outrages and barbarous cruelties which the Irish Papists have committed upon the persons of the Protestants . . . since A.D. 1641." The illustrations are attributed to Hollar, and exemplify a means of inflaming English feeling against the Irish people in general, which has been, unhappily, common down to the present day. For "we must not suppose that outrages were confined to the rebels. There were wholesale murders also on the other side ; and the numbers of the Irish that were killed all over the country in places where there had been no rising far exceeded those of the settlers that had fallen victims in Ulster. . . . The two lords justices sent parties of military from Dublin through the county all round, who massacred all the people they met, whether engaged in rebellion or not. Their general, Sir Charles Coote, committed horrible excesses, especially in Wicklow, surpassing the worst excesses of the rebels, killing and torturing women and infants, as well as men. In Munster, Sir William St. Leger slaughtered vast numbers of innocent persons." (Dr. P. W. Joyce, *A Child's History of Ireland*). The Irish, however, had no means of making known their side of the case. It must be added that the responsibility for the insertion of these, as of other illustrations, rests with the Editor and Publishers only.

MAGDALENE STEEPLE, DROGHEDA 469

The battlements still show the damage done by Cromwell's cannon. The tower was part of a Dominican abbey founded in 1224.

CHARLES II. RIDING TO HIS CORONATION 473

From a print of 1661 : the Duke of York and the Lord Chancellor are in front.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME.

- BATESON, Miss MARY, Associate and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge ;
Editor of *Records of the Borough of Leicester* ; *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, etc.
- BEAZLEY, C. RAYMOND, M.A., F.R.G.S., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford ;
Author of *The Dawn of Modern Geography* ; *Henry the Navigator* (Heroes of the Nations Series) ; *John and Sebastian Cabot*.
- BROWN, Rev. JOHN, D.D. ; Author of *John Bunyan : His Life, Times, and Work* ; *The Pilgrim Fathers of New England* ; *Apostolical Succession in the Light of History and Fact* ; and of *The Yale Lecture on Puritan Preaching in England*.
- CLOWES, Sir WILLIAM LAIRD, Fellow of King's College, London ; Hon. Member R.U.S. Inst. ; Gold Medallist, U.S. Naval Institute ; Associate of the Institute of Naval Architects ; Author of *The Royal Navy : A History to the death of Queen Victoria*.
- COLVILLE, JAMES, M.A., D.Sc. (Edin.), sometime Examiner in History at Glasgow University ; Editor of Spalding's *English Literature* and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (for Schools) ; Author of *Byways of History*.
- GRETTON, Major G. LE M., 3rd Battalion Leicestershire Regiment ; sometime Examiner at the University of Adelaide.
- HASSALL, A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, and sometime Examiner in the Honour School of Modern History ; Author of *Bolingbroke* ; *Louis XIV.* ; *A Handbook of European History* ; *A Class Book of English History* ; *The French People* ; *Mazarin* ; Editor of *Periods of European History*, and Author of Period VI. (*The Balance of Power*) ; Joint Editor of and Contributor to *Constitutional Essays* ; Editor of the third edition of Dyer's *Modern Europe*, and of *The Student's France* ; collector and Editor of Bishop Stubbs's Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series.
- HEWINS, W. A. S., M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford ; Director of the London School of Economics ; Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics at King's College, London ; Member of the Senate of the University of London ; Author of *English Trade and Finance in the Seventeenth Century* ; Contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of Political Economy*.
- HUGHES, REGINALD, D.C.L.

- HUTTON, Rev. W. H., B.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, and sometime Examiner in the Honour School of Modern History; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely; Author of *William Laud*; *The Marquis Wellesley*; *Sir Thomas More*; *The Church of the VI. Century*; *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain*, etc.
- JOYCE, P. W., LL.D., one of the Commissioners for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland; Author of *A Short History of Ireland*; *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*; *Old Celtic Romances*; *Ancient Irish Music*; *A Child's History of Ireland*, etc.
- MONTAGUE, F. C., M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Professor of History at University College, London; Author of *The Limits of Individual Liberty*; *Elements of English Constitutional History*.
- OMAN, C. W. C., M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College and Deputy Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford; Author of *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*; *Warwick the King-maker*; *The History of Europe, 476-918*; *Seven Roman Statesmen*; *History of the Peninsular War*, etc.
- PROTHERO, R. E., M.A., M.V.O., sometime Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; formerly Editor of the *Quarterly Review*; Author of *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* and of *The Life of Dean Stanley*; Editor of *Dean Stanley's Letters and Verses*, the *Letters of Edward Gibbon*, and the *Letters of Lord Byron*, etc.
- ROCKSTRO, W. S. (the late), Author of *A General History of Music*; *Life of Handel*; *Life of Mendelssohn*, etc.
- SAINTSBURY, GEORGE, M.A., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh; Author of *A Short History of French Literature*; *Histories of Elizabethan and Nineteenth Century Literature*; *Marlborough*; *A Short History of English Literature*, etc.
- SMITH, A. L., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford.
- STEELE, R., F.S.A.; Author of *Medieval Lore*; Editor of *The Story of Alexander* and of Lydgate's *Secrees of Old Philosophers*, Three Prose Versions of the *Secreta Secretorum*, *The Earliest English Arithmetics*, etc. (E.E.T.S.).
- SYMES, Professor J. E., M.A., Principal of University College, Nottingham; Author of *A Text Book of Political Economy*; *The French Revolution*; *The Prelude to Modern History*, etc.
- WARNER, G. TOWNSEND, M.A., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and sometime Examiner in the Historical Tripos at Cambridge; Author of *Landmarks of English Industrial History*.
- WHITTAKER, T., B.A., Author of *The Neo-Platonists: a Study in the History of Hellenism*; Joint Editor of Croom Robertson's *Remains*; sometime Assistant Editor of *Mind*.

PREFATORY NOTE.

IF the history of England during the Stuart period is more sombre or less encouraging to our national pride than the brilliant awakening under Elizabeth, yet there is abundant compensation in the manifold development and progress exhibited in every department of life. The period opens with a series of attempts to make the monarchy absolute in Church and State; it sees the premature erection of a republic under a written constitution, followed by a dangerous and deplorable reaction; it closes with the establishment of substantial rudiments of the party system, and of popular and constitutional government. At its beginning, Nonconformity partakes of the nature of treason; at its close, toleration is a principle of practical politics, in however imperfect a form. It sees the establishment, under constitutional guarantees of freedom never since relaxed, of a standing army; and England achieves the position of a great naval and commercial power, and lays the foundations of her existing system of banking and of State finance. Scotland is successfully united with her, Ireland provisionally and ineffectively subjugated. There is a vast development of mathematical, physical, and physiological science, and an immense multiplication of the comforts and conveniences of life. Costume becomes more varied, though not more splendid; military uniform begins; ship building makes great advances; architecture passes from the elaboration of Italianate Elizabethan and of Jacobean Gothic into the majestic classicism of Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren. Immigrants like Vandyck, Lely, and Kneller, and lesser artists of native birth, have left us portraits of the statesmen, ecclesiastics, and beauties of the time, as well as of its luminaries in literature and science. Yet another foreign artist, Wenceslaus Hollar, has given us abundant representations

of costume, of landscape, of historical events. Foreigners again, by immigration or otherwise, stimulate English agriculture and multiply manufactures and sources of wealth. The increased facilities of printing furnish us with abundant examples of social life, manners, and beliefs. The bitterness of the political struggles stimulates the art of caricature, of which, however, the most elaborate examples come to us towards the end of the period from Holland. Contemporary illustrations show us, too, how the middle classes are becoming the dominant factor in the national life. It is for them that newspapers arise, that amusements multiply, that travel, long deprived of the excuse of pilgrimage, becomes avowedly recreative or educational. Public vehicles are introduced; packets sail regularly; the rude coal-fire beacons of the Middle Ages begin to give place to the lighthouse; domestic comforts increase; coal, during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, replaces charcoal in London; cookery develops, and food is served, to those who can afford it, in almost repulsive profusion. Everyone of these features of the period can be illustrated from original sources; and we may fairly claim to have done so in the present volume.

We must again express our sincere thanks to the owners or custodians of many portraits and other objects of great historical interest for their generous permission to reproduce them in the present work. As in previous volumes, the source of each illustration is noted under it; but special acknowledgments are due to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for leave to reproduce portraits at Lambeth; to the Marquis of Bath, for leave to reproduce several portraits from the collection at Longleat; to the Earl of Carlisle for a similar privilege as regards the Castle Howard collection, and for several valuable suggestions; to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Southesk, the Earl of Verulam, Lord Fitzhardinge, Lord Arundell of Wardour, and Lord Saye and Sele; to the Under-Secretary of State for War and the authorities of the Tower; to the Lords of the Admiralty; to the authorities of the Rotunda Museum, Woolwich, and of the United Service Institution; to the Librarian of the House of Lords; to the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, and to Mr. H. S. Liesching for valuable assistance:

to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Curator of the Scottish National Antiquarian Museum; to the Dean of Westminster; to the Dean and Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford; to the Heads and Fellows of Exeter, Lincoln, Corpus Christi, and Wadham Colleges, Oxford, and Christ's, Sidney Sussex, and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge; to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington; to the Keepers of the University Museum and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; to Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, for his unfailing help; to the Royal Society; to the Royal College of Physicians; to the Worshipful Company of Stationers; to the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London; to the Curators of the Soane Museum, and of the Lewes, Maidstone, Norwich, Northwich, and York Museums; to the authorities of the Municipal Museum of Antiquities at Middelburg, Holland, and to Mr. W. O. Swaving, Keeper of the Municipal Archives; to G. Clinton Baker, Esq., for permission to reproduce portraits from the famous Kitcat Collection at Bayfordbury; to Mark Firth, Esq., and the Hon. T. F. Fremantle; to Fairfax Rhodes, Esq.; to the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester; to the Rev. F. W. Galpin, for leave to photograph musical instruments from his valuable collection, and for information as to their history and use; to the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott; to Mr. C. H. Firth; to the authorities of the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children, and to Adrian Hope, Esq.; and finally and pre-eminently to the authorities of the British Museum. As in preceding volumes, Miss E. M. Leonard, of Girton College, Cambridge, and Mr. T. D. Atkinson have rendered valuable help in selecting illustrations, while Professor Oman has performed a similar service in the case of his own contribution, which he has revised and amplified. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter, and the text generally, have also been subjected to careful revision.

J. S. MANN.

February, 1903.



JAMES I.

(Hampton Court Palace.)

SOCIAL ENGLAND.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE STUARTS AND THE NATION. 1603-1642.

IF the sixteenth century may be described as an age of "expansion," the seventeenth may with equal justice be characterised as an age of "concentration." Throughout the reign of Elizabeth the gaze of the nation seems as it were to be turned persistently outwards—its practical energies directed to colonisation and conquest, its intellectual impulses urging it forward with glorious results towards new worlds of poetic and dramatic art. In every chapter of the later Elizabethan annals, and in almost every page of Elizabethan literature, we feel the presence of this spirit. And no less intimately are we conscious, throughout the seventeenth century, that these processes have been reversed, and that a period, so to speak, of anxious and painful introspection has succeeded to one of ardent and enthusiastic outlook. The nation has no longer either the leisure or the heart to busy itself with its imperial aggrandisement: it has to direct all the thoughts of its ablest thinkers, and to summon all the vigour of its men of affairs, to the solution of the formidable problems with which the path of its domestic politics is beset.

ARTHUR
HASSALL
The Rule
of the
Stuarts.

Two of these great questions—the question of the prerogative and the question of religion—were already prominent when James Stuart, son of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne. All the changes in the sixteenth century had been in favour of the Crown. Immense, though temporary, powers were given to the Tudors to enable them to complete the overthrow of the medieval nobility, to carry

Its
Political
Problems.

through the struggle with Rome, to maintain order at home, and to avert the risk of foreign invasion. By means of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, the depression of the nobility was completely effected and outward conformity in religion was insisted upon. Parliament played but a small part under the Tudors, being content to give the Crown fresh powers so long as its holders were, like Elizabeth, truly representative of the nation.

But after the defeat of the Armada the circumstances which had led to the Tudor dictatorship were fast disappearing. The personal influence of Elizabeth and of her predecessors had in reality rested upon the national approbation, and with her



SEAL OF JAMES I.

death it was evident that the question of the prerogative would require delicate handling.

Rival
Theories
of Mon-
archy.

Already political theorists had discussed the question of the sovereignty of the State, and on James's accession two theories of royalty had arisen. On the one hand, the theory of the Divine Right of kings had been adopted in many quarters as the logical outcome of the feudal or proprietary idea of sovereignty. According to this idea the king was the real possessor of the country, and the only superior lord of the king was God. Closely connected with this view was the idea of the government of the Church by divinely ordained priests, and the *dictum* "No bishop no king" represents the position of those who, like James, held firmly to the feudal notion with regard to authority. On the other hand, judicial and executive authority

had for some time past been placed in the hands of elective officials, while the Reformation had produced the idea of Church government by the congregation. In the political as well as in the religious sphere the idea of official government was being developed. In place of the Divine Right of royalty arose the notion of constitutional royalty dependent on the will of the people; while the Puritan party wished not only to remain independent of the Pope, but to sweep away all that reminded them of the pre-Reformation period—bishops, ceremonies, and ritual.

England was, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, strong and united. A king was required who could appreciate the true character and position of the Tudor monarchy and would exercise a calming and moderating influence upon the warring religious factions. Unfortunately, neither James nor Charles met the need. The Tudors had used their discretionary power with wisdom. They did not attempt to define, they pleaded expediency, and, speaking generally, they used this power cautiously. James I., on the contrary, attempted to define the prerogative. His Law of Free Monarchies, Cowell's Interpreter, and the Canons of 1606 all afford ample evidence of this tendency. Not satisfied with defining his authority, he claimed a wide prerogative by right. Urged by that need of money which was chronic with him, as with his successors (p. 182), James increased the import duties without consulting Parliament, and in Bate's case (1606) obtained from the judges a decision that the king could increase or vary such taxes by his prerogative alone. Ignoring the growing opposition to the free exercise of his royal power, he threw the weight of his prerogative on the side of the episcopalian party, with the result that Puritanism allied itself with the constitutional



A PROVERB APPLIED.

(From a Print of 1652.)

The
Stuart
Kingship.

opposition which already had the support of the Common Lawyers.

Unable to appreciate the new national spirit, and convinced that he was possessed of a "Divine hereditary right," it is not to be wondered at that James, from the outset of his reign, came into frequent collision with his Parliaments, and rapidly destroyed that mutual understanding between ruler and ruled which had been the firmest support of the Tudor government.

James I.'s
Policy.

His policy was a curious mixture of good sense and folly. He desired to use diplomacy instead of war, to conciliate the Catholic Powers in Europe by granting toleration to the English Catholics, to suppress Puritanism, and to bring about the union of Great Britain. Unfortunately, he mistook the general resemblance between Puritanism and Presbyterianism for a specific identity. The English Puritans, unlike the Scottish Presbyterians, did not universally desire any change in Church government. Some of them merely disliked the severe methods of Elizabeth, and merely wished for greater freedom. They expressed their views in the Millenary Petition (pp. 26, 51). An opportunity which seemed to offer an excellent prospect of settlement was afforded by the Hampton Court Conference (pp. 26, 52). But he was unwilling, it may be unable, to take it. Three hundred ministers, according to one estimate, were driven out of the Church, and a large number of his subjects alienated at the outset of his reign. As to the Catholics, he had, even before his accession, declared that he wished to stop all persecution. Both France and Spain sought his alliance, and he was from the first anxious to bring about a general peace, to enter into friendly relations with Spain, and to tolerate the English Catholics. In 1604 he made a treaty with Spain, but this attempt to give play to his natural inclinations was premature. Till 1612 the influence of Cecil, the folly and rashness of his enemies, who formed the "Main" and "Bye" plots for Cecil's overthrow, and perhaps for the dethronement of the king himself, and the Puritan temper of Parliament, forced James to revive the penal laws against the Catholics, and to return to a Protestant foreign policy. The Gunpowder Plot in 1605 justified the attitude of Parliament, ended all opposition to James's accession, and threw him decidedly into the Protestant



THE CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT OLD SOMERSET HOUSE IN 1604; BY MARC GHEERLAEDTS.
Photo: Walter & Cocherell.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

cause in Europe. England, until Cecil's death, takes no unimportant part in European politics. She assisted in bringing about the truce between Spain and the United Netherlands in 1609, she acted vigorously on the side of Brandenburg in the Cleves-Julich succession question; the marriages of Prince Henry with the second daughter of Henry IV., and of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederick V., the Calvinist Elector Palatine, were arranged, and James entered into alliance with the German Protestant Union.

James
and Par-
liament.

But though Cecil's influence led to the continuance of England's foreign policy on the lines followed by Elizabeth, and to the increase of England's reputation in Europe, he was unable to bring about satisfactory relations between James and his Parliament. The first Parliament sat from 1604 to 1611, and its temper marks the beginning of that opposition to the Stuart rule which culminated in the Civil War. In the disputed elections of Goodwin and Fortescue Parliament made an important assertion of its right to settle contested elections, while in the case of Shirley it claimed successfully the right of its members to freedom from arrest. Parliament further insisted on increased severities against the Catholics, and punished Cowell for publishing in his *Law Dictionary* the claims of the Crown to absolute powers in virtue of its Divine Right. It rejected the Union with Scotland (1607; p. 243), complained of the Book of Rates and Proclamations (1610), and secured the withdrawal of the Great Contract. Parliament, dissolved in anger by James in 1611, did not meet again till 1614, when, as the "Addled Parliament," it showed such an independence of spirit, together with a desire to criticise the legality of impositions and monopolies (pp. 191-194), that after two months James hurriedly dissolved it.

From the date of Cecil's death (1612) to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 James endeavoured to carry out his own views at home and abroad. Prince Henry had also died in 1612, and James henceforward was influenced by unworthy favourites such as Robert Carr and Villiers, better known as the Earl of Buckingham, who from 1615 exercised a disastrous influence on the destinies of England. The age of favourites had succeeded that of statesmen, and was marked by a change in England's foreign policy which aroused Puritanism,

and arrayed it in opposition to the Crown. Many circumstances attracted James to a Spanish alliance, and as early as 1611 he had proposed to marry his son to the Infanta. He admired the monarchical institutions of Spain, his vanity was gratified by being treated as an equal by the Spanish king, he hoped, in view of the stubbornness of Parliament, to get money from Philip III. for his daughter's dowry, and he was convinced that a Spanish alliance would enable him to preserve peace in Europe. The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, exercised great influence over James, and the Spanish prime

James'
Foreign
Policy.



ONE OF KING JAMES'S GUARD (MS. Egerton 1269).

minister, Lerma, was thoroughly in earnest in the marriage negotiations, which began in 1617. But the Spaniards were determined not to allow the match unless they were assured that the conversion of England would follow from it, while Gondomar himself, totally unaware of the strength of the Puritan feeling, believed that James could restore Catholicism by a royal mandate. The failure of Raleigh's expedition to Guiana (1617; p. 81, note) was caused by James's disclosures to Gondomar, and the execution of the author of "The History of the World" was entirely due to Spanish intrigue (1618). As a Spanish marriage implied increased privileges to Catholics in England, it was not to be wondered at that James's foreign policy, embellished by such acts as the execution of Raleigh, caused bitter anger among the people.

James
and the
Thirty
Years'
War.

In 1618 the Bohemian Revolution took place and the Thirty Years' War began. When Frederick Count Palatine, James's son-in-law, who had been elected king of Bohemia in opposition to the Archduke Ferdinand, the legal king, asked him for advice, James was unable to make up his mind until too late. In 1620, when the Palatinate was in danger from Spanish troops, he allowed some English volunteers, under Sir Horace Vere, to establish themselves in some of the principal cities, such as Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. Had James convinced the Spaniards that their invasion of the Palatinate would be followed by English intervention, it is probable that a peaceful settlement of the difficult questions then dividing Germany would have been arrived at. But his hesitation and indecision convinced Gondomar that there was nothing to fear from England, and in August Spinola and his forces invaded the Palatinate, and James was thus in great measure responsible for the expansion of the Bohemian struggle into a European war. On November 29 the battle of the White Hill ruined Frederick's fortunes in Bohemia, and James had only the question of the Palatinate before him. He had already been roused by the news of the Spanish invasion, and had summoned Parliament. When the famous Parliament of 1621 met the members were strongly in favour of the defence of Protestantism abroad, but James, as usual, procrastinated. His weakness and indecision ruined all. Believing that negotiations would still effect his purpose of recovering the Palatinate, he sent Digby to Vienna. Without an army Digby could only procure a short cessation of arms. Had James put himself at the head of the English nation, he could have forced Frederick to renounce the Bohemian crown, the Spaniards to retire from the Palatinate, and the Catholic League to respect his power. But James showed no intention of trusting his people, and the Commons, furious at his inaction, turned upon domestic grievances, attacked monopolies, impeached Bacon, now Lord Chancellor of England, of bribery, and secured his conviction and punishment. When Parliament met again, in November, 1621, its temper was so strongly anti-Spanish and its advice to James so plain-spoken that on January 6, 1622, he dissolved it. In doing so he committed the greatest blunder of his reign. All chance of

influencing Spain and the League was gone. All hope of recovering the Palatinate disappeared, and its reduction was



Photo: W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA. (*Hampton Court Palace.*)

completed by March, 1623. But James still believed in words; he had, too, never relinquished his plan of a Spanish match.

**The
Spanish
Match.**

In 1623 the famous journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid took place, James hoping that when the match was arranged the king of Spain would give him the Palatinate as a wedding present. But the king of Spain was resolved not to agree to the match unless complete liberty of worship was secured to the English Catholics, and unless the Infanta had her own public church, and full control of the education of her children. Moreover, it became evident that Olivarez, the Spanish minister, had no intention of bringing any pressure to bear on the Emperor in order to hand over the Palatinate to England. Convinced at last that all chance of a Spanish match was at an end, and that force was necessary for the recovery of the Palatinate, James broke with Spain, prepared for war, and summoned his last Parliament, which met on February 17, 1624. The Commons voted supplies, impeached the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Middlesex, for corruption, declared against a French marriage treaty, and demanded a war with Spain by sea. But James determined by means of a land war in Germany to recover the Palatinate, made an alliance with France, and married Charles to Henrietta Maria in May, 1625. In December, 1624, James had ratified the French marriage treaty; in January, 1625, the ill-starred expedition of Mansfield and his 12,000 English troops set out; in February James decided on an alliance with Christian IV. of Denmark, and on March 27 he died.

Charles I. CHARLES I., who reigned from 1625 to 1649, had, by his wife Henrietta Maria, three sons and four daughters. Of the daughters, Mary, who married William of Nassau, was the mother of William III.; and of the sons the two elder, Charles and James, were kings of England. Unlike his ungainly father, Charles was dignified and ceremonious. Strongly attached to the English Church, he was, if possible, more convinced than James I. of his Divine Right to rule, and of the close connection between episcopacy and royalty. But he had no knowledge of foreign politics, no experience of the danger of popular opposition, no capacity for the wise conduct of affairs. Though he relied on such men as Buckingham, he was possessed of an extreme obstinacy. He never realised



KING CHARLES I.

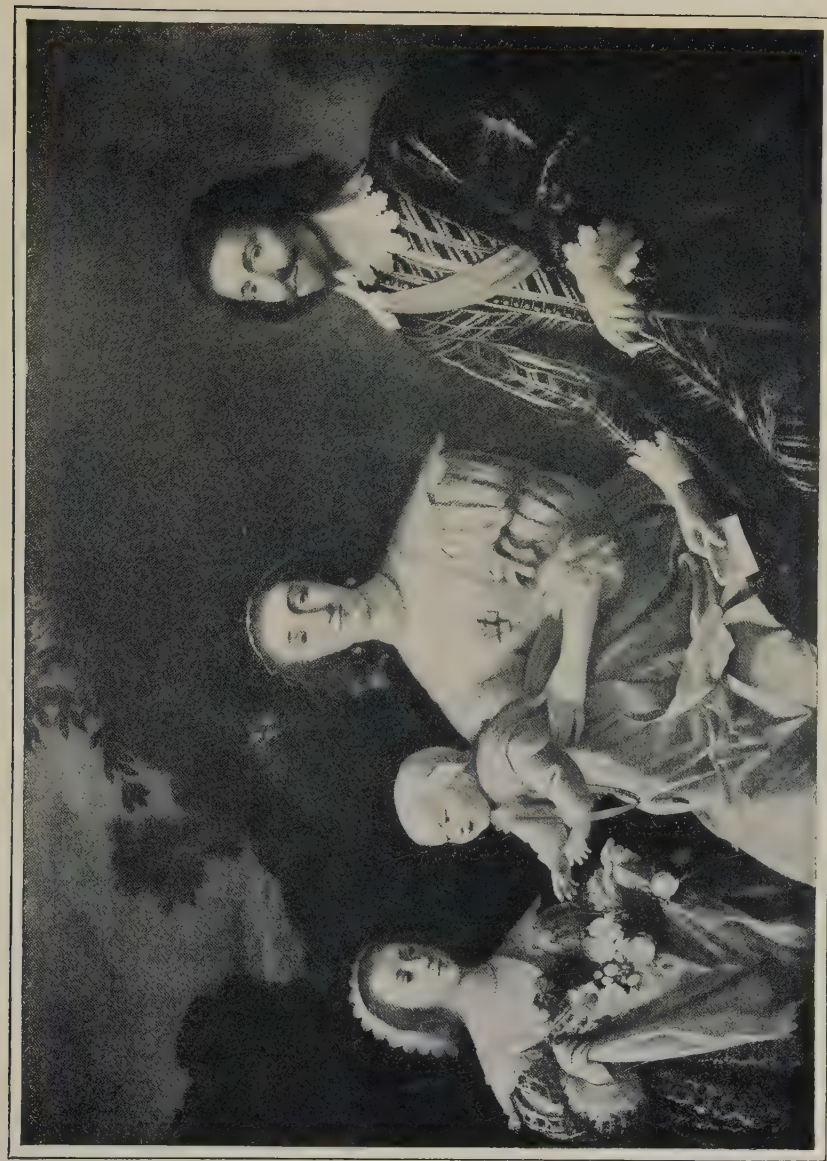
Photo : W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C

(From the picture by Vandyck at Hampton Court Palace.)

the intense Protestant feeling of the country, now roused by the great war on the Continent to a dangerous height; he never understood the character of the House of Commons, filled mainly with wealthy and independent country gentlemen, and he never appreciated the fact that the English Constitution was to be regarded as a compromise.

England
and
Europe,
1625-1630.

On his accession the Protestant cause on the Continent seemed to be in a very precarious position. The armies of Wallenstein and Tilly were threatening Christian IV., and Gustavus Adolphus was busy in Poland. Like his father, Charles was resolved to recover the Palatinate for his brother-in-law. On May 26, 1625, he promised Christian IV. £30,000 a month, and in November England and the States General made the Treaty of the Hague with Denmark. But Charles found he was unable to keep his promises, and the unfortunate Christian was overthrown at Lutter in August, 1626, and forced in 1629 to make the Peace of Lübeck and to withdraw from the war. Charles's failure to aid Christian was due partly to his ill-advised policy with regard to France and Spain, partly to the change of feeling at home with regard to the Continental war, partly to his quarrels with the House of Commons. On his accession he had hoped to place himself at the head of a great Protestant alliance, and Cecil's expedition to Cadiz in October, 1625, and Buckingham's journey to the Hague in November were distinct attempts to carry out this policy. But Cecil's expedition failed, the Treaty of the Hague did not become the nucleus of a great European league, and by the end of the year England's relations with France had become dangerously strained. Charles was angry at the employment by the French of English ships (p. 14) against the Huguenot insurgents of La Rochelle, while the French were irritated at the seizure by the English of some French ships, at Charles's interference on behalf of the Huguenots, and at the dismissal of Henrietta's French servants. In May, 1626, France and Spain made peace at Monzon, and before the end of the year England found herself at war with both these Powers. Charles had never understood the real meaning of the struggle at Rochelle, and by becoming involved in a war with the two great western Powers he was unable to send any aid to Christian, who, though Lutter had been lost, was still holding out.



GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G., AND FAMILY; BY GERARD HONTHORST.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Buckingham's expedition to Rhé (June–November, 1627) was a complete failure (p. 316), and, though the nation and Privy Council were opposed to his policy, Charles was determined to carry on the war with France, and to aid the Rochellese. Further attempts in 1628 to succour La Rochelle failed, and on April 24, 1629, the Peace of Susa ended the war with France, while the Treaty of Madrid, on November 5, 1630, closed that with Spain.

James
and the
Commons.

But Christian's defeat was also partly due to the diminution of the war fever in England. The Commons were beginning to realise that the Spanish power was declining, and that Spain was not likely to form a universal monarchy. Further, they had never comprehended the meaning of the struggle in Germany, and did not appreciate the results likely to flow from the establishment of a strong military and Catholic Empire by means of Wallenstein's army. There were, moreover, domestic difficulties which occupied their attention and tended to become more serious each succeeding year. Between 1625 and 1629 Charles attempted to rule with Parliament, and during these years three Parliaments were summoned. The first Parliament met in June, 1625, shortly after Charles's accession. Being suspicious about the terms of the king's marriage treaty with France, very discontented at the writings of Mountague (p. 41), one of the most extreme members of the Laudian party, and at the disaster which had befallen Mansfield's expedition, and, moreover, disliking Buckingham's influence, they only voted Charles two subsidies—that is to say, £140,000, a manifestly inadequate sum, considering that England was then at war—and tonnage and poundage for one year. Charles, furious at the attack on the Arminian writings of Mountague and at the niggardliness of the Commons, refused to accept the grant. After an adjournment, the Parliament met at Oxford, and the new session proved a very stormy one. Richelieu had used eight English ships, lent him by the English Government, to attack the Protestants of La Rochelle, and the Commons were naturally unable to understand how such conduct could be explained. More suspicious than ever of Buckingham, they renewed their petition of the previous session against the Catholics, refused to grant money unless their grievances were redressed,

1642]

and were dissolved in August. The second Parliament met in February, 1626, shortly after the complete failure of Cecil's expedition to Cadiz. Led by Sir John Eliot, Digges, and Pym, the Commons proceeded to attack and punish Mountague, to draw up a list of grievances, and finally to impeach Buckingham. It was evident that deep discontent existed at the ecclesiastical and foreign policy of the king, who, to save his favourite, dissolved Parliament on June 19.

Before the opening of his third Parliament Charles had broken with France, and the disastrous expedition to Rhé had taken place. By various illegal means Charles managed to obtain a certain amount of money, but his attempts, even when successful, caused serious and widespread discontent. In religious matters he showed himself equally arbitrary. The absolute prerogative of the king was openly advocated by such men as Drs. Sibthorp and Mainwaring. The Catholic reaction was at its height on the Continent, the Emperor's power extended to the shores of the Baltic, and it was regarded as not at all improbable that the reaction would reach England. Great uneasiness prevailed throughout England, which was increased when Charles claimed absolute power by right, and in the case of *Darnel* (or the Five Knights) obtained a decision of the judges in his favour, which practically annihilated the twenty-ninth clause of *Magna Carta*—"No free man shall be taken and imprisoned unless by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land." By the end of 1627 the money which the king had collected by these unconstitutional means had been spent. He was anxious to help the Huguenots and to retrieve the disaster at Rhé, and accordingly he summoned Parliament to meet in March, 1628.

The
Fears of
Reaction.

In spite of the many violations of public liberty, the Parliament adopted a moderate tone. Many of the members feared that by continued opposition the king might be driven to overthrow Parliament by his extraordinary prerogative. But the king's speech was insulting and impolitic, and the Commons, in promising five subsidies, demanded redress of grievances before the Bill was passed. After much angry discussion, Sir Thomas Wentworth moved that "grievances and supplies should go hand in hand," and the Commons presented the Petition of Right to the king. This petition

The
Petition
of Right,
1628.

contained a declaration that certain rights which had been violated must be recognised in the future. The petition declared—1, That loans and exactions of money without consent of Parliament are illegal; 2, That no one should be imprisoned without cause shown; 3, That the billeting of soldiers and sailors on people against their will is illegal; 4, That no commissions should be issued to military officers to try subjects by martial law in time of peace.



Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, K.G.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

The king's answer, after consulting the judges, to this petition was considered evasive, but after a period of excitement Charles accepted the petition, and the Commons voted the five subsidies. They next proceeded to attack Buckingham and to draw up remonstrances against illegal taxation. But before their discussions had advanced far Charles suddenly, in June, prorogued the House. Between the first and second session two important events occurred. Buckingham was assassinated on August 23, and Wentworth accepted the

1642]

Earldom of Strafford and joined the Court party. His views had always been in favour of authority, and he had never believed in the wisdom of the Commons. Distrust of Buckingham had thrown him into the ranks of the opponents of the Government, but when once Buckingham was removed by death Wentworth naturally became a supporter of the royal prerogative. With this formidable addition to his strength Charles summoned his Parliament for its second session. The

Went-
worth's
Defection.



Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

BUST OF JOHN HAMPDEN.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

Commons, angry at the king's disregard of the Petition of Right and at his ecclesiastical policy, drew up a remonstrance, in which it was declared that anyone who paid tonnage or poundage, or who favoured Popery or Arminianism, was a traitor to the realm. After the memorable scene when the Speaker was held in his chair, Parliament was dissolved, Eliot was imprisoned, and Charles determined to rule without Parliaments.

For ten years—from 1629 to 1639—the Government was

Government
without
Parliament.

carried on by the king and Council. During this period the country was prosperous, but the discontent was universal. Strafford and Laud represented to the popular mind the two chief influences, lay and ecclesiastical, and the causes of the Civil War which gradually accumulate during these ten years are as much religious as political. The great difficulty was the collection of revenue. It was therefore necessary to give up foreign wars, peace was made with both France and Spain, and Charles made no attempt to interfere actively in Germany, where the Thirty Years' War was raging.

To fill his empty treasury he appealed to the Star Chamber, which proceeded to exact fines on the most trivial grounds, and by this means raised very large sums for the king (p. 183). The old law of knighthood was revived, and at least £100,000 was raised by fines from those who had not taken up their knighthood. Many other obsolete laws were revived, and an examination of the boundaries of the forests discovered the fact that extensive encroachments had been made. By exacting enormous fines or annual rents from the occupiers of land within the forest boundaries, by the establishment and sale of monopolies (p. 191), by benevolences and customs, and by many similar methods Charles managed to raise, between 1629 and 1634, very large sums of money.

Ship-money.

In 1634 it was determined to obtain a fixed revenue by the collection of ship-money from all the counties. "Let the king," said Strafford, "only abstain from war for three years, that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of this tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." In 1637 John Hampden refused to pay 20s. for his property in Stoke Mandeville, and the case was tried by all the judges in the Exchequer Chamber. The judgment of the majority of the judges was in the king's favour, and the position of the royal prerogative seemed unassailable. But the appeal of Charles to the judges was in reality very impolitic. Popular indignation, roused by what was considered an unjust decision, was turned against the judges.

While the discontent was increasing at the many illegal acts of oppression, the ecclesiastical policy of the Government was causing profound dissatisfaction. Like Strafford, Laud,

the king's adviser in religious matters (p. 36), was devoted to a line of action in favour of the assertion of authority known as "thorough." Unfortunately he used the High Commission Court very frequently, and its unpopularity was increased by the support which it received from the Star Chamber. He aimed, too, at introducing ecclesiastics into the Government offices, at restoring the old political importance of the Church, and at reviving the influence of the ecclesiastical courts. The punishments of Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton revealed the unpopularity of the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. But Charles, instead of insisting on toleration, allied himself with the small High Church party and insisted on outward conformity. Though England, with much murmuring, accepted the Laudian system, an attempt to introduce it into Scotland provoked an outbreak which brought to an end the period of tyranny without Parliament.

Laud.



HEAD AND LIMBS OF AN APPRENTICE HANGED
AT SALISBURY FOR TREASONABLE LANGUAGE.

(From a Contemporary Print.)

The course of this struggle down to the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in March, 1638, must be left to be dealt with in a subsequent section (p. 242). That event placed Charles in a difficult position. He had no army, and he knew that many of his subjects were opposed to his policy in Scotland. He decided to send Hamilton as a High Commissioner to negotiate with the Covenanters while he prepared an armed force. He felt that the question of sovereignty was at stake, and when the General Assembly met at Glasgow in November, 1638, war was inevitable. This Assembly, though dissolved by Hamilton, continued its sitting and annulled all Acts of former Assemblies from 1606, abolished Episcopacy,

The
Struggle
with Scot-
land: The
Bishops'
Wars.

and re-established the Presbyterian system. Charles was inclined for strong measures, Strafford for a war of defence. Scotland contained many veterans who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus and were animated by an enthusiasm for Protestantism. Charles, with only £50,000, was unable to collect an army equal in discipline, equipment, and in commissariat arrangements to the Scottish army, which, under Leslie, was stationed in a strong position at Dunse Law. Appreciating the weakness of his own forces, Charles determined to agree to a pacification, and in June the first Bishops' War was closed by the Treaty of Berwick. The Assembly and the Parliament were to meet in Edinburgh, the forces of the Covenanters were to be disbanded, and the royal castles restored. At Edinburgh the Assembly and the Parliament again abolished Episcopacy, and Charles determined upon another war. In order to procure supplies, he summoned the Short Parliament, which met on April 13, 1640, and was dissolved on May 5. In this Parliament the members differed from the king in their views with regard to the Scottish war. The House, headed by Pym, refused to grant supplies till grievances had been redressed, and adopted a strong religious tone. To avoid receiving a proposal for the abandonment of his war with Scotland, Charles suddenly dissolved the Parliament, and entered upon the second Bishops' War, 1640. Encouraged by the attitude of the English nation, the Scots crossed the border, declared they were come to fight against evil counsellors, and demanded redress of grievances, punishment of evil advisers, and the summoning of an English Parliament. After the king's troops had been defeated in a skirmish, negotiations were opened at Ripon, and Charles summoned a Great Council, consisting of peers alone, at York. This Council of Peers urged the summoning of Parliament, and on November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament met. During the first session (November, 1640–September, 1641) the constitutional party had the upper hand. The Court of Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, and the Stannary Courts were all swept away; ship-money, tonnage and poundage, and all impositions levied without consent of Parliament were declared illegal; commissioners were appointed to dispose of those subsidies which the

The Long
Parliament.

1642]

Commons had voted; a Triennial Bill was passed directing the summoning of Parliament every three years, even if the king did not call it. Still showing extraordinary energy, the Commons, led by Pym, impeached Strafford on March 22, 1641. It was extremely doubtful if the charges against Strafford amounted to high treason, and the Commons acted wisely in abandoning the impeachment, and proceeding against him by Bill of attainder. The discovery of the Army Plot on May 3 alarmed the Peers, who passed the Bill, and Strafford was executed on May 12. On the same day Charles assented to a Bill declaring that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. Charles's system of personal government had now come to an end; the extraordinary powers of the Crown, acquired in Tudor times, were abolished; it was impossible for the king to carry on the Government without the co-operation of Parliament.

The
Fall of
Strafford.

In August, after the Parliament had disbanded the English army and secured the retirement of the Scottish troops, Charles set out for Edinburgh, hoping by conciliatory measures to gain Scottish assistance against the House of Commons. A slight reaction in his favour had set in before his departure. Strafford's death led many to hope that the king would now be guided by wiser counsels. Moreover, it was felt that Charles had agreed to all necessary Bills, and that there was danger lest Parliament itself should become in its turn despotic. People began to talk of "King" Pym. The Commons, too, by supporting the root-and-branch Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy, had roused a very strong opposition throughout the country, which increased in volume when orders were issued by Parliament shortly before its adjournment interfering in a Calvinistic direction with the Church ritual. Charles, unfortunately, instead of adopting a moderate tone and conciliatory measures, determined to tamper with all parties and to secure support outside as well as within Parliament. On arriving in Edinburgh he agreed to the Scottish demands; but his influence was weakened by the discovery of a plot, headed by Montrose, for killing Argyle and Hamilton.

On October 20 the English Parliament met, full of suspicion with regard to Charles's conduct in Scotland, and three days later the Irish insurrection broke out in Ulster.

THE TRUE MANNER OF THE EXECUTION OF THOMAS EARL OF STRAFFORD LORD
 Lieutenant of Ireland—upon Tower-hill the 5th May 1661.



A drawing taken from the
 original picture
 in the custody of
 the Hon. the Secretary of State

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

1603-1642]

The cruelties perpetrated roused the utmost horror in England, and strengthened the Commons in their distrust of the executive. From the beginning of November the party of political revolution, headed by Pym and Hampden, came definitely forward. On November 8 the Grand Remonstrance was introduced, and on the 23rd it was carried amid a scene of unprecedented uproar. It was an appeal to the people against the royalist reaction; it contained a searching examination of grievances, a defence of the acts of the present Parliament, and a programme for the future. Charles returned to London on November 25, and had an excellent reception; but, instead of conciliating his opponents, he by a series of ill-judged acts roused universal suspicion, and played into the hands of the extreme party in the Parliament. The appointment of the notorious Lunsford in December to the post of Lieutenant of the Tower, though rescinded two days later, was a mistake; while the impeachment of the Five Members, followed by the failure of an attempt to arrest them, was a very serious error in judgment. It was felt to be impossible, in view of the spread of the Irish Rebellion, to entrust the king with an army which, after Ireland had been pacified, might be employed against the English Parliament. The final struggle between Charles and the Commons arose naturally, considering the circumstances of the time, over the command of the militia. Charles refused to place the militia—as the trained bands of the country were called—under officers chosen by the Commons (p. 58), and technically he had right on his side.

**The Grand
Remonstrance.**

But at the beginning of 1642 war was inevitable. The queen had gone abroad to buy arms, and Charles had agreed to the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords merely to gain time. According to Clarendon, he never intended to keep his promise.

The Commons were no doubt perfectly justified—seeing that a state of war might almost be said to exist—in declining to allow the king to appoint officers of the militia. In March Parliament declared that all who exercised any power over the militia without their consent were enemies to peace. In the early summer both sides began to collect troops. On August 22, 1642, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and the Civil War began.

**The Out-
break of
War.**

W. H.
HUTTON.
The
Anglican
Reaction.

UNDER Elizabeth the settlement of Church government and the relations between Church and State had been a compromise, and this characteristic affected the whole ecclesiastical history of her reign. Yet what was fixed and settled was maintained with firm hand. How far would this curious condition of affairs, half compromise, half autocracy, continue under a successor who differed from the great queen in every possible way? Never in English history was expectancy more awake.

Hopes of
the Dis-
sidents.

From James the foes of the Church expected much. The Calvinistic Puritans hoped that he would enable them to reform the Church after their own model, and that he would favour the introduction of the complete Presbyterian system, advocated as a spiritual necessity by Cartwright. He was a member of the Scots Church, which was reformed on the Presbyterian scheme; the expectation of English Presbyterians was a natural one (p. 50).

The Roman Catholics looked, at least, for toleration, and there was a prospect, many thought, of reconciliation with the Papacy. James was the son of Mary Stuart; and he had himself declared that he was unwilling that the blood of any man should be shed for diversity in religion. While the sectaries were hopeful, the Church was in dismay. Whitgift sent timid messages of congratulation to the new king, expecting the worst.

James I.
as a
Theologian.

But James defeated all expectations. He was not without learning in theology or without sagacity in statesmanship; and both as theologian and as statesman he was disposed to accept the Church of England as he found it. As a theologian he was thus disposed because from his study of "holy Scripture and ancient authors" he had become convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the continuity of the Church: his theology, in fact, was not divorced from history. As a statesman he was still more readily influenced by the Anglican establishment, because he had felt the yoke of the Presbyterian system, which claimed to rule all secular as well as all religious life, and had raised up in Scotland a class of arrogant dogmatists who had become the real rulers of the people, and who had ventured to speak of their sovereign as "God's silly vassal."

In fact, James saw the intimate connection—at least at that period of the world's history—between Episcopacy and Monarchy. He had already restored a moderate Episcopalianism in Scotland (1599). "Presbytery," he said, "agreeth as well with Monarchy as God and the devil." "No bishop no king" was, indeed, one of the wisest of his *obiter dicta*. It was a true prophecy that if the traditional government by bishops, which was, especially in its dependence on direct succession, a guarantee for order and a check on revolution, were abolished, the Monarchy must follow. The claims of the Monarchy of the Stuarts in England upon popular support were really much slighter than those of the historic episcopate. If men began to inquire into the origin of Monarchy—as they were already beginning—they were sure, sooner or later, to reach a conclusion which based its authority on the consent of the governed. Though James himself always tried to enforce the theory of its Divine institution, it was clear that it would eventually be admitted to be founded on the people's will; and the inference would follow that its maintenance must ultimately depend upon its utility. Now the episcopate also depended upon this, but it claimed moreover a traditional, scriptural, and historical basis in Divine providence. Bishops might exist without kings, but at that time certainly kings could not exist without bishops. The enemies of each were the same, and kingship could not defend itself alone. Something after this fashion did history shape itself in James's mind when it led him to cling to the episcopal order.

Besides this, the king was politically drawn to the Church of England as being by its form of government contrasted with the Protestant churches of the Continent. Protestantism abroad might well seem to the men of his time to mean disloyalty, disunion, and anarchy. Such was its meaning in France, where it sheltered the feudal independence of nobles, and the narrow, local, separatist tendencies which must be overcome before France should display her greatness. Such it might appear in the Palatinate, where James's hot-headed son-in-law threw off all obligations of moral and legal right, and rushed into an utterly selfish struggle for the disunion of Germany. At first sight the case of Holland might seem to point the other way; but even the United Provinces suffered

Monarchy
and
Church
Polity.

Protest-
antism on
the Con-
tinent.

from revolution and lawlessness, and the conduct of the Dutch in the East Indies was marked by almost fiendish cruelty and an utter disregard of the rights of individuals and of nations, whether civilised or uncivilised (p. 189).

James, then, was doomed to disappoint expectations. It was not long before this was made manifest. On his way to London he received a petition, to which 750 letters of assent had been received, but which claimed to be the demands of at least a thousand of the Puritan ministers within the Church. The Millenary Petition (pp. 4, 51) touched questions of the sacraments, and of certain more or less significant ceremonies. The sum of its desires involved a separation of the English Church from historic Christianity, and a definite alliance with foreign Protestantism. It did not stand alone as the expression of public opinion on Church matters. The great political theorist of the day, Bacon, put forth "Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England." His proposals, so far as they were definite, were illusory. It was not the time for reason to suggest articles of peace. No bond of union can be found in free inquiry—a basis suggested by a historian as suitable at this conjunction. Amid the difficulties that surround belief there must be a basis of agreement in order to obtain the union which Bacon desired. Such a basis the Anglicans sought in the Bible as interpreted by the Fathers and Councils of the Church and by universal custom. To such a basis the Millenary Petitioners would not agree.

The
Millenary
Petition.

The
Hampton
Court Con-
ference.

Such were the circumstances when the king, in the autumn of 1603, issued a proclamation promising to correct all abuses in the Church, and summoned a conference to discuss them. The conference met at Hampton Court, January 14, 1604. Four preachers represented the Puritans, while nineteen appeared on the part of the Church. Thus, from the first, an air of unfairness deprived the conclusions of any attraction for doubtful consciences (p. 52). The Puritan objections were such as had often been urged—against the use of the sign of the cross and of the surplice. The demands practically resolved themselves into a desire for the enforcement of the Lambeth Articles, the famous body of Calvinistic divinity which had never received the assent of Convocation. The conference

was, as far as the discovery of any means of reunion was concerned, a complete failure. Divided, indeed, as they were by their respective principles of appeal to history and adherence



THE CHAPEL, HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

to private interpretation, the two parties were irreconcilable. The result served to show clearly how deep was the gulf which divided the Puritans from the Anglicans, though both were

still within the Church. Yet the conference was not wholly barren: by agreement of both sides, the work was undertaken which gave to the English-speaking world that "well of English undefiled"—the Authorised Version of the Bible issued in 1611 (p. 130 ; III., p. 287).

Bancroft
Primate.

The conference was hardly over before the stout archbishop died. The appointment of his successor showed clearly the lines upon which the king's policy was to run. The chair of St. Augustine was filled by Bancroft, Bishop of London, whose sermon on the Divine right of Episcopacy had been the turning-point of the literary warfare nearly twenty years before.

Attack on
Noncon-
formity.

He came into office when Convocation had passed a new body of canons, the most important code of Church law issued since the Reformation (p. 52). Nor was this all: it was plain that his policy was to be dictated by the State. A few days after his appointment he was ordered by the Council to proceed against the nonconforming ministers. Before the end of the year 1604 the archbishop directed that all curates and lecturers should be required, under pain of dismissal, to declare their assent to the Royal Supremacy and their belief that the Book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that the Thirty-Nine Articles were agreeable to the Word of God. In the case of beneficed clergy, those who refused to make these declarations were, nevertheless, to be allowed to retain their livings if they would conform (p. 52). It must be admitted that these measures were by no means severe. It is obvious that such a declaration of belief was a very moderate demand to make of men who received their income from Church property. They were only required to say that there was nothing contrary to the truth in the doctrines of the Church whose pay they took. It is difficult, therefore, to feel much sympathy for those—were they three hundred, as was stated, or but forty-nine, as the archbishop admitted—who refused to subscribe, and lost their livings. But the deprivation, though reasonable in itself, was carried out in a manner eminently characteristic of the worst side of the spirit of the times—by the power of the State through the High Commission, and thus by means entirely contrary to the constitutional rights of the clergy.

Such were the beginnings of the new policy towards Non-

conformity. Towards Roman Catholics the king's attitude was different. He was tolerant by disposition and conviction. As in many matters, so in the intellectual appreciation of the duty of religious toleration, he was in advance of most of his contemporaries. In personal character he was merciful and peaceable. He had promised, soon after his accession, that he would not proceed against "any that will be quiet but

Concili-
ation of
Roman-
ists.



Photo: Walker & Cocherell.

RICHARD BANCROFT, BISHOP OF LONDON.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

give an outward obedience." From his opening speech to his first Parliament it would appear that his scheme was not to suppress the Romanists, but gradually to extinguish them by preventing Roman interference with the temporal power, and by the removal of Roman clergy to stop conversions. The scheme was a sagacious one. It accorded with the *via media* which the English Church desired to take, equally apart from Rome and Geneva. That there was some chance of its succeeding seemed evident from the history of two striking figures

of the time—Isaac Casaubon and Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. The former, a distinguished French layman, the most learned man of the age, had come over to England and conformed to the English Church, in which he saw the most perfect expression of the Apostolic tradition, and from which he hoped for the reunion of Christendom. He died in England, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, 1614. The archbishop was a man of another stamp—ambitious and avaricious to an extreme degree, but not without keen insight. He had quarrelled with the Pope, and thereupon came to England, where he conformed to the Church and wrote a book in its defence. The preferments that he received—the Deanery of Windsor and the Mastership of the Savoy—did not satisfy his opinion of his own merits, and he eventually returned to Rome, where he was imprisoned by the Inquisition till his death. Too much stress must not be laid upon the views of such a man; but it is clear that his endeavour to reunite the Roman and Anglican bodies by proving, to the satisfaction of the Pope and the learned, the Apostolic and Catholic character of the English system was a genuine attempt based upon a belief in the essential unity of the whole Church, in spite of divisions. Thus it was but natural that James should believe it possible to win over the Papists and to unite them to the English Church. The innumerable negotiations in which he was engaged with the Papacy point to this conclusion. But it was a conclusion which neither Rome nor Protestantism would accept. Both the Pope and the English Parliament thought he was tending towards Roman Catholicism; and, like most schemes of compromise in troublous times, his endeavours were worse than useless.

Its Pros-
pects of
Success.

Its
Eventual
Failure.

It was not long before James saw that one part of his project at least was impossible, and in 1605 he yielded to the pressure of his Parliament and enforced the penal laws against the Papists. It was soon clear that, whatever might be the result of conciliation, coercion did not produce peace. A party of irreconcilables banded together to destroy king and Parliament, and the Gunpowder Plot made any toleration of Romanism impossible for near a hundred years. The history of the plot does not concern us here, but its results are important to our subject. Not only did it lead to an increase



Photo. Hulton-Dea/Getty Images

THE "GUY FAWKES" CONSPIRATORS, 1605.
 (From a list of conspirators in the National Portrait Gallery.)

Thomas
Winter

Robert
Catesby

Guido
Fawkes

Thomas
Perry

John
Wright

Christopher
Wright

Robert
Winter

Bates

The
Effects of
the Gun-
powder
Plot.

of persecution in spite of the king's persistent reluctance, but, strangely enough, it involved James in the unpopularity of those whom he was reluctant to persecute though they sought his life. A pamphlet of the day even accused him of consent to the plot. But more than this: the plot strengthened tenfold the forces that were fighting against Anglicanism. Anything that savoured of Catholicism seemed to the populace to smell of gunpowder. Popular hatred of Romanists rose to fever-point; the memory of the Smithfield fires was revived. Nothing in the war that followed thirty years later so harmed the royal cause as the king's acceptance of the loyal service of the Roman gentry. With the Gunpowder Plot set in an era of persecution and of relentless animosity among the English people to the Roman Church. From this time the Roman Catholics as a party became insignificant; the hatred they excited was out of all proportion to their influence or their power.

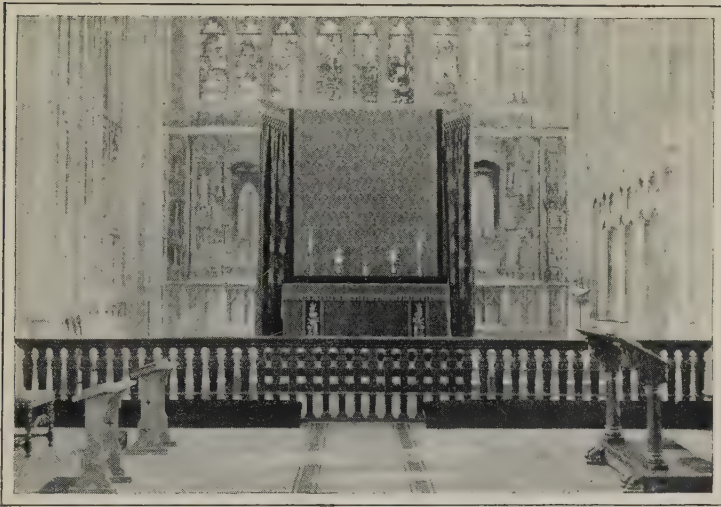
Parlia-
ment
and In-
tolerance.

James's policy towards Puritans and Papists alike was directly opposed to that of the majority of each of his Parliaments. The House of Commons was engaged in a battle for political liberty; but, at the same time, it fought to establish intellectual serfdom. It was hot for persecution, and pledged to Calvinism. Pym was uncompromising. "If the Papists once obtain a connivance, they will press for a toleration, from thence to an equality, and from an equality to a superiority, from a superiority to an extirpation of all contrary religions." In 1621 a famous petition was drawn up which strongly urged persecution; and the king's refusal to receive it led to the great protest of privileges, which marks the beginning of the political struggle that culminated in the Civil War.

Sunday
Observ-
ance.

Toleration and conformity were not the only ecclesiastical questions on which Crown and Parliament were at issue. The question of the observance of Sunday roused a bitter feeling between Puritan and Anglican. The king, at the beginning of his reign, had ordered that "no bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, common plays, or other like disordered or unlawful exercises or pastimes be frequented, kept, or used at any time hereafter on any Sabbath-day." But this was far from satisfying the extremists. It had always been the custom in England to employ Sunday, after the public services of

religion, in recreation (p. 229). But a party now arose which condemned all gaiety. "The Lord's day," says Fuller, "began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as were yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid aside his buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting beside the mark; nay, games and morris-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be silenced from jingling about men's



ALTAR RAILS IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, ATTRIBUTED TO LAUD.

legs if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful." The matter was brought before the king by a controversy in Lancashire in 1617, and after counsel with Morton, Bishop of Chester, he issued a declaration which was afterwards embodied in the "Book of Sports." The pith of book and declaration is to be found in the following passage:

"For our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is that, after the end of Divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor for having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances, so as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of Divine service."

No question more sharply divided English religionists than this Sabbatarian contest. It was alleged against Archbishop Laud later as a heinous offence that "he used to play at bowls on this very day." His answer showed how recent was the growth of objection to innocent recreation—for Calvin himself allowed such games on Sunday.

Sabbatar-
ianism
in the
Commons.

The House of Commons represented the most severe form of Sabbatarianism. In 1621 it expelled "Mr. Shepherd, M.P. for Shaftesbury, for explaining that *dies Sabbati* meant—not the Sabaoth, as they called it, but Saturday, and suggesting that, as David danced before the ark, the legality of dancing was a question which the bishops might decide before it was absolutely forbidden." Thus again were king and Commons at odds. It seemed, for the time, that at this point the king was victorious, for the "Book of Sports" was very generally acted upon; but its republication in the reign of Charles I. caused renewed irritation, and told seriously against the king. The practical results of the controversy were the committal of a great party of English clergy for centuries to a policy of rigid suppression of Sunday amusement, and, on the other hand, a learned examination of history and precedent which issued in the publication of works by Prideaux, Heylin, Ironside, and Sanderson, in which the whole question was debated with minuteness. The characteristic feeling of the Church remained in favour of liberty. To Vaughan the Sunday gave—

"The next world's gladness prepossest in this";

and the keynote of George Herbert's writing on the "day most calm, most bright," was the thought, "This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it."

At the close of the reign of James his measures seemed to have succeeded. It seemed possible that peace might continue. But Calvinism in theology was still strong among the clergy, and the legal ritual and order of the Prayer Book were by no means everywhere observed. An attack on Calvinistic doctrine would be sure to bring about a disturbance. Calvinism was supreme at the Universities, it was strong among the clergy; and it was by Calvinists that England was represented abroad when the king sent delegates to the Synod of Dort. Yet

it was impossible that this system should continue to animate the English Church. It was opposed to her tradition and history; it had never won expression in her authorised formularies; strictly interpreted, it was irreconcilable with her Prayer Book and Articles. Bancroft's successor as Archbishop—Abbot—was, it is true, a Calvinist; but the works of Hooker and of Bilson were still the true expression of Anglican feeling. It



LANCELOT ANDREWES.

(Bodleian Picture Gallery.)

was the work of a new school of thought to put Church teaching forward more clearly. Of that school the real leaders were Lancelot Andrewes and William Laud.

Andrewes may be said with truth to have been one of the most learned and holy men by whom the Church has ever been ruled. His sermons—quaint, erudite, humorous, and spiritual—were the delight of his own age. His prayers have been constantly brought out in new editions, and have been the companions of the piety of two centuries. His controversial

Lancelot
Andrewes.

writings laid the foundation of the Anglican position as it was expressed and defended by the divines of the rest of the century. The special characteristic of his work was its appeal to primitive antiquity and the resort for interpretation to the historical formularies of the undivided Church. The strength of the appeal which he made to the intelligence of his own and the next age lay in the fact that he spoke to the heart no less than to the head.

The
English
"Armin-
ians."

As Andrewes followed Hooker, so Laud consciously modelled himself upon Andrewes. And they were the leaders of a party whose aim it was to reconcile Anglicanism to Catholicity, and piety to learning. Bilson, Buckeridge, Neile, Bramhall, Mountague, Mainwaring, Cosin, Jeremy Taylor, were each in their way typical of a particular side of a movement which designed to influence all classes of English society. The party soon won the nickname of Arminians, from their fancied resemblance to those who in Holland had protested against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and who were crushed by Maurice of Nassau and proscribed by the Synod of Dort. Their polemical position is expressed with clearness and force in books such as Laud's "Controversy with the Jesuit Fisher," which Charles I., in his last hours, recommended to his children as the best preservative against Popery and Puritanism. "Scripture is the ground of our belief," said Hooker; it was the work of the English Arminians to show that the belief thus grounded was witnessed to by tradition, historic continuity, and reason. The principle to which they appealed was utterly opposed to the Calvinistic individualism; for they relied ultimately, not on the individual, but on a power altogether outside self, on the eternal force that makes for righteousness.

William
Laud.

William Laud was born at Reading in 1573. He took his degree from St. John's College, Oxford, in 1598, and two years later was ordained deacon by Young, Bishop of Rochester, of whom it is said that—

"Finding his study raised above the systems and opinions of the age, upon the noble foundations of the fathers, councils, and the ecclesiastical historians [he] early presaged that he would be an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times to the more enlarged, liberal, and public sentiments of the Apostolic and primitive ages."

Laud found himself in the midst of a Calvinistic university, and in his earliest writings and sermons he took up the cudgels against the dominant party. In 1606 he was of sufficient note to be preached against almost by name as a "mongrel—half Papist, half Protestant." He had already made friendships in the great world, and he had been led into an ecclesiastical irregularity—that of marrying a divorced woman¹ to her lover, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Dorset.

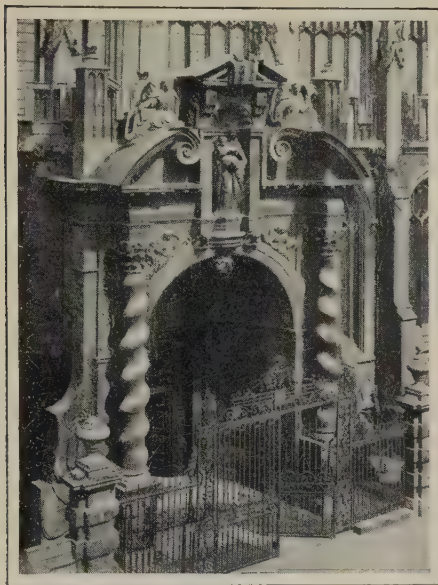


Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.
PORCH OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, OXFORD.

In 1611 he was elected, in a hot contest which needed the king's confirmation to become valid, President of his College. He was never much in favour with James I., who was too much of a Calvinist to sympathise with his opinions; but he became a warm friend, and indeed the only wise adviser, of Buckingham, and towards the close of James's reign he was on the road to the highest preferment. He became Dean of Gloucester in 1616, where he restored the cathedral to decency

and compelled conformity to the formularies of the Church. In 1621 he was made Bishop of St. David's. Thence he was raised in 1626 to Bath and Wells, in 1628 to London, and in 1633 to Canterbury. From that time to his imprisonment, on March 1, 1642, the history of religion in England is the history of his measures and of his influence.

Laud's aims may be summed up briefly as of three kinds.

[¹ The divorced wife of Lord Rich. Laud was doubtless influenced by the fact that he was Lord Mountjoy's chaplain; but he bitterly repented the deed in his later years. See Dr. S. R. Gardiner in *Dict. Nat. Biography*.]

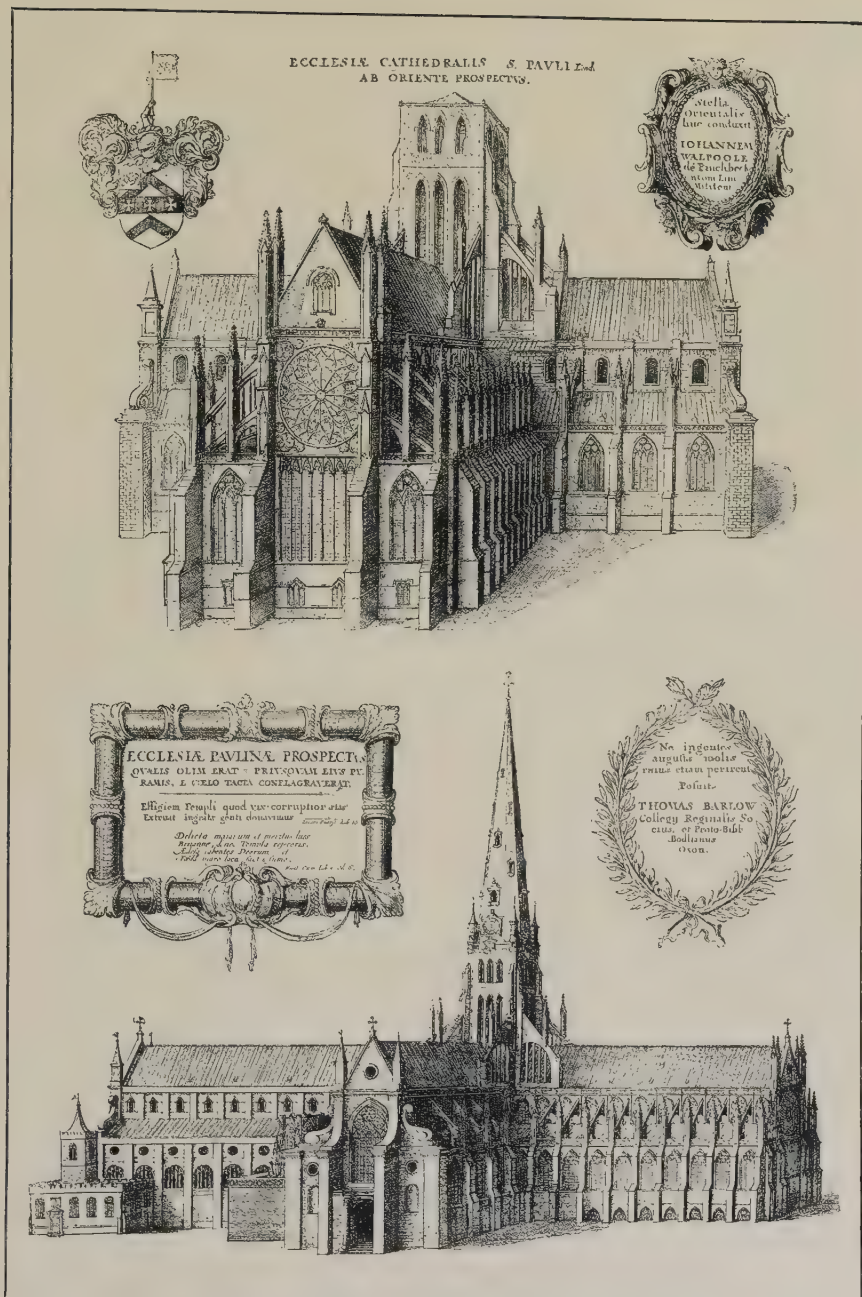
**Laud's
Aims.**

His chiefest purpose was to purge from the English Church the dregs of Calvinism. Secondly, he desired to establish for ever the *via media* of the Church, as apart from both Rome and Geneva. And, thirdly, his position was eminently conservative. Modern writers have represented him as a reformer, as one engaged like Strafford in the pursuit of a visionary ideal. This is surely an error. Though his measures for the enforcement of decency and order, for the punishment of moral offences, and the enforcement of the rubrics and canons of the Church on those who had vowed to obey them effected a reformation of manners, yet his aim was never to improve upon the Reformation settlement or to make an ideal Anglican Church; but simply to obey himself, and to oblige others to obey, the orders which the Church in her fixed formularies had given. This explains his constant appeal to Articles, Canons, Laws—to the recognised rules of the English Church. This makes his answer, at his trial, so convincing on its own ground. He had done nothing new: he had chapter and verse for everything he did. It may have been wise for Puritan opponents to cut off his head because he was their bitter foe; but it was a position utterly untenable to assert that he was the introducer of innovations, that he desired to subvert the Protestant religion.

**His Influence on
Charles I.**

Through his friendship with Buckingham Laud first won influence over the Prince of Wales, an influence strengthened and confirmed when Charles became king. His was just the character to balance that of the young monarch. Charles was thoroughly well-meaning and in intention honourable, but he was weak and shifty, and at the same time headstrong and obstinate. It seemed as though he had no fixed moral principles. He could never be relied upon to stand firm on what he believed to be true. Laud, on the other hand, was utterly without craft. His beliefs were very definite: to him the difference between right and wrong was always exactly and rigidly marked out, and duty was never to be forgotten or laid by. His conscientiousness was minute, his straightforwardness almost brutal. One point at least he instilled into Charles, that last shred of consistency—his devotion to the essential system of the Church.

Laud's forcible policy had the defects inseparable from



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, WITH AND WITHOUT THE SPIRE.
 (From engravings by W. Hollar.)

his character. He saw the present and the far future: there was for him no middle distance. He could not foresee the immediate results of his work either in England or in Scotland. It was this which caused the utter failure, for the time, of his policy, the destruction of Episcopacy, the suppression of Church worship, and less clearly, but still truly, the Civil War itself. But it was this, nevertheless, which caused the restoration of Anglicanism and its firm position during later centuries. If Laud had been more careful and less thorough, the work that he did would never have been done. No one has expressed the side of his action which was most apparent to his own time more clearly than Clarendon, whose words are too weighty and too characteristic for paraphrase.

“He was a man” [says the Chancellor, who had himself as a young man attempted, with some temerity, to advise and to warn the Archbishop] “of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions or designs than what was pious and just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the king, the Church, or his country), he never studied the best ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, or at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty or roughness; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say, of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into, and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance or favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men’s, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment; and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing St. Paul’s Church; and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed and the less compassionately reduced and excused, which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the star-

chamber more felt and murmured against, which sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill-intention towards the church."

Setting out with this idea of enforcing moral order in an age of licence, and of compelling obedience to the rules of the Church, Laud was ready, as were the other bishops of the school of which he was the leader, to take advantage of any signs of a reaction in favour of personal holiness or against the narrowness of Calvinist theology. The latter movement was illustrated, in 1624, in the controversy which centred round the scholar and pamphleteer Richard Mountague, Rector of Stanford Rivers, Essex.

Mountague was a Cambridge divine, who had assisted Sir Henry Savile in the literary work which he carried on at Eton, and who had been asked by James I. to answer Baronius. He had worked, on the lines of Casaubon, at the early Fathers and Councils, and had set himself to show to the people as well as to the learned that the Church of England stood "in the gap against Puritanism and Popery, the Scylla and Charybdis of ancient piety." He came into controversy with certain "Romish rangers," who endeavoured to convert his flock, no less than with Puritan ministers and a Puritan House of Commons. His popular pamphlet, "A New Gag for an Old Goose," was a reply to a Romanist attack entitled "A Gag for the New Gospel." The Commons attacked him, and a lengthy controversy ensued. The bishops of Laud's party defended him, but the Commons refused to be pacified. Charles finally endeavoured to stop all controversy by a declaration commanding silence on the deep questions of predestination and election. In 1628 the same policy was followed up by the declaration prefixed to the Thirty-Nine Articles, which at least bore the appearance of a plea for peace and quietness.

Laud and
Calvinism;
Mountague.

But the Commons continued to attack the Arminians; they were far from mollified by Mountague's appointment to a bishopric. Dr. Mainwaring, for a sermon which Laud himself considered injudicious, Dr. Cosin, for a book of private devotion which the Puritans considered Popish, were denounced in the strongest manner. A committee on religion presented its report strongly adverse to the Laudian school,

and Eliot denounced the policy of silence. The House of Commons became "a school of theology," and the natural results followed from the discussion of a science by those who had not studied its rudiments. The debates belong to the



THE UPPER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

(From a print of 1624.)

history of the country: religion became one of the chief factors in the parliamentary opposition. A temporary silence was caused by some bold measures of the king, by the imprisonment of Eliot, the dissolution of Parliament, and a royal declaration of adherence to the old paths and to the Petition of Right (p. 15).

It was during this pause before the great struggle that Laud's chief work was done; and it is here that we may fitly notice some of its chief characteristics.

Character-
istics of
Laud's
Work.

1. His tolerance. When the House of Commons would interpret the Articles in a Calvinistic sense, and force others so to interpret them, he wrote, "All consent in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an article or canon, is to itself as it is laid down in the body of it; and if it bear more senses

than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense according to the analogy of the faith, and that he hold it peaceably, without distracting the Church, and this till the Church which made the article determine its sense; and the wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or the most, to require consent to articles in general as much as may be, because that is the way of unity, and the Church in high points requiring assent to particulars hath been rent." It was his wisdom "in high points" never to require "assent unto particulars," and it was here that he was opposed to the steadfast policy of the Puritans and the Commons. Yet certainly no man was ever less disposed to prefer peace to truth. He acted fearlessly on his own convictions, yet he was always ready to make peace between those whose convictions led them into conflict. He was ready to meet half-way the more thoughtful minds in the Church,



THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

(From a print of 1624)

even though their thoughts might not run in most orthodox channels. We find him in the closest relations with Chillingworth and Hales. The former had been won back from Roman Catholicism to a great extent by his influence. In 1637 the "Religion of Protestants" issued from the press (p. 135).

It contains Laud's principles as they appear after passing through the acute and logical brain of Chillingworth; its main thesis may be said to be based on a passage from Laud's own writings: "The Church of England never declared that every one of her articles are fundamental in the faith; for it is one thing to say no one of them is superstitious or erroneous, and quite another to say every one of them is fundamental and that in every part of it to all men's belief." Hales had not the keen wit of Chillingworth, but by his learning, by his gentle manners and his simple life, left a name which was honoured and beloved for many generations. Few libraries of the next two centuries were without a copy of the "Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable John Hales." For him Laud had temperate reasonings but a real sympathy. Those whom the Puritans banned for heresy Laud loved for their thoughtful conscientiousness.

2. Side by side with Laud's tolerant spirit stands his love of learning. And, in the words of an eminent scholar and statesman, "he was the first Primate of All England for many generations who proved himself by his acts to be a tolerant theologian."¹ To him the University of Oxford, of which he became Chancellor in 1630, owes its unique collection of Oriental MSS. He founded an Arabic professorship, and encouraged the learned labours of the divines who made famous the Caroline age of English divinity. Though he was far too active a man to be a close scholar, probably no interest lay nearer his heart than his love of learning.

3. He fought for morality. This was the strength, in spite of its arbitrary and unconstitutional procedure, of the Court of High Commission. The plain obligations of simple morality were in sad need of public enforcement, and the Court enforced them without respect of persons.

4. But the most prominent characteristic, to all appearance, of Laud's policy was its relation to the policy of the State. Through his action the theory of Divine Right—that theory which, in opposition to Jesuit and to Republican teaching, sought to found government not on the shifting sands of popular opinion or the arbitrary direction of a religious power, but on right, inherent fitness, and Divine direction—seemed to be embodied

¹ Gladstone's *Romanes Lecture*, p. 38. Cf. Gardiner, "Civil War," II., 108.

1642]

in practical working. Church and State worked hand in hand. The Church condemned the enemies of the State. When the Short Parliament refused supplies, Convocation supplied the king's necessities. The State carried out the decrees of the Church. It was a theory and a practice by no means peculiar to Laud. Every party of the time saw in the State the natural protector and enforcer of its religious opinions; Puritanism still more than Anglicanism would invoke the aid of the secular power. Laud sat in the Star Chamber and in the High Commission. It was difficult to distinguish his functions, and he rightly bore his share, perhaps more than his share, of the unpopularity of those extra-legal tribunals. But it would be a mistake to consider the archbishop as a convinced supporter of arbitrary power. The notion of a Divine Right of kings did not assume real prominence till Charles's title to rule came into question; and it may be doubted if it ever assumed prominence in the mind of Laud. For him the question was first ecclesiastical, and it was enough for him to accept the royal supremacy in the Church as it was established by existing law and custom, and to use it for the great ends which he hoped to accomplish by its means. But such a weapon is two-edged, and it was by it that Laud himself lost power and life.

Church
and State.

Had Laud's work and the king's difficulties been confined to England, it is possible that they might have ended without disaster. But the Irish rebellion, coming after Strafford's strong government and his Laudian measures for the support of the Irish Church, and the outburst of anti-Erastian and nationalist enthusiasm among the Scots, joined with the rising current of political opposition in England to sweep away for the time every vestige of his power.

Laud's
Failure.

At the time when the castle of cards in Scotland was falling about Charles's ears Laud seemed to have triumphed at home over every opposition. He had vindicated his right to visit the universities, he had carried out a metropolitical visitation throughout his province with extraordinary success. He had swept from his path the time-serving Latitudinarian Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. Even when the Short Parliament had shown how determined was the aim of the political leaders to upset the ecclesiastical system which he had so laboriously reared up, he did not desist from his purpose.

Convocation passed new canons at the very time when political opposition was at its height.

Laud
and the
Clergy

It is easy to see from official records how far Laud succeeded in enforcing conformity to Prayer Book, Articles, and Canons. It is at once more difficult and more interesting to estimate how far the majority of the English clergy were in genuine sympathy with his ideal. We have, however, two prominent figures of the time, representing different types of character and modes of life, in whom we can readily trace his influence. Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert were both in thorough sympathy with the Catholic Anglicanism of their archbishop.

Two
Typical
Figures;
(1) Nicholas
Ferrar.

Ferrar—at one time member of Parliament for Lymington and prominent in opposition to the Crown, greatly interested in the colonisation of Virginia, a man of affairs as well as a scholar—retired at the age of thirty-two into the country, and settled his mother and his family at Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire. Having been ordained deacon by Laud, he set himself to revive the “religious” life in the English Church. His household lived entirely by rule—fixed devotion, fixed arrangement of the day, regular work, regular charities. “The world forgetting, by the world forgot,” the happy family, watching at midnight to give praise to God, and busying themselves in active works of piety and education, lived on undisturbed till their house was sacked by the Parliamentary troops in 1646.

The simplicity, holiness, and peace of their life is a strange contrast to the turbulence and self-seeking of the world without. The example was not lost. Favoured as was the household by the king and the archbishop, it was no less attractive to many wearied spirits. “’Tis fit to tell the reader,” says Isaac Walton—

“that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety than to doubtful and needless disputations did often come to Gidding Hall and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with Mr. Ferrar and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night; and these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlor that had a fire in it, and the parlor was fitted for that purpose, and this course of piety and great liberality to his poor neighbours Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death.”

George Herbert was not a recluse—he was a simple country parson. A kinsman of the Earl of Pembroke, a brilliant scholar and a courtly gentleman, public orator at Cambridge, admired and honoured by the king, a brilliant career was opened to him. It was long before he could decide whether to attach himself to the “painted pleasures of a

(2) George Herbert.



LITTLE GIDDING CHURCH.

Court life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders, to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.” At length he was ordained deacon, but he hesitated to assume greater responsibility till Laud persuaded him, and he accepted the living of Bemerton, near Salisbury.

At Bemerton he lived, as he wrote, the ideal life of “A Priest to the Temple.” While his simple sermons and his life

of goodness won his people to a good life, he was writing poems which should catch the hearts of the next generation and enlist men's sentiment and sympathy in the restoration of the Church. Herbert's life was itself the noblest of his poems, and while it had the beauty of his verses it had their quaintnesses as well. Those exquisite lines of his, so characteristic of his age and his style, give a picture suggestive of his own character:—



THE RECTORY, BEMERTON, WILTS.

“Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky.”

Ferrar and Herbert could not fail to be friends. Their “devout lives,” says Isaac Walton—

“were both so noted that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge, and this new holy friendship was maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters.”

And it was to Ferrar that Herbert bequeathed the manuscript of his poems, which within a few weeks of his death were given to the world. The recluse and the country parson

were the fairest examples of the religious life of the age; but there were others, such as those of whom Isaac Walton wrote so touchingly, who showed the influence which the school of Andrewes and Laud could exercise on the most divergent characters. It has been happily said¹ that—

“What seems to have been the peculiar mission of Herbert and of his fellows is that they showed the English people what a fine gentleman, who



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LEEDS.

was also a Christian and a Churchman, might be. They set the tone of the Church of England, and they revealed, with no inefficient or temporary effect, to the uncultured and unlearned the true refinement of worship. They united delicacy of taste in their choice of ornament and of music with culture of expression and of reserve, and they showed that this was not incompatible with devoted work and life.”

In such ways Laud's work was felt throughout England. But when the Long Parliament met the end of it was come. On December 18, 1640, he was impeached on a general charge of high treason. “I stayed,” he writes in his diary, at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the

Laud Im-
peached.

¹ By Mr. J. H. Shorthouse, preface to Herbert's “Temple,” p. xxiv.

people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day, xciii. and. xciv., and cap. 50 of Isaiah, gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it and fit to receive it. As I went to my barge hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house, for which I bless God and them."

The work of the next year was entirely to reverse what Laud had done. Yet already there were signs that it was the strongest part of that system of government in Church and State against which Parliament was to fight. The common people were being taught to love the Church as his poor neighbours loved Laud. The more thoughtful laymen were learning to see in it "a shelter against the oppressive monotony of a democratic" religionism.

The
Anglican
Reaction,
1640-41.

When the dominant party in the Commons determined to destroy Episcopacy, Falkland and Selden stood aside from Hampden and Pym. Hyde, to whom the Church appeared as a safeguard of order and decent devotion, and Falkland, whose foresight showed him that the Church, not Puritanism, was the defender of intellectual liberty, drew sword for "Church and king." A horror of the inquisitorial system of Presbyterianism was already showing itself. On February 27, 1641, a great petition from Cheshire was presented to the House of Lords, which expressed a considerable body of lay feeling, and protested against the substitution of a tyranny of "near forty thousand Church governors" for the rule of ordinaries, "easily responsible for Parliament for any deviation from the rule of law." When the king set up his standard, it was the Church more than any other institution which gave him his following, and the Church because she seemed to represent a reasonable liberty, which was threatened even by those whose noble aim was political freedom.

JOHN
BROWN.
Puritan-
ism and
Noncon-
formity.

THE accession of James I. once more revived the hopes of the Puritan party. For he had been brought up among Presbyterians, had been the pupil of George Buchanan, and a frequent hearer of the disciples of John Knox; he had invited Cartwright, the leader of the English Presbyterians, to a professorship in Scotland; had written to Elizabeth on his behalf when he was out of the royal favour, and had even pleaded for

1642]

Udal, the Puritan, when the Court of High Commission was in the full tide of its tyranny. Moreover, he had in a General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in 1590, expressed his opinion that their Presbyterian Church was "the purest in the world," declaring at the same time that the service of the English Church was "but an evil-said Mass in English," "wanting nothing of the Mass itself" except the adoration of the Host. It was reasonable to suppose, therefore, that even if he did not consent to remodel the Church after Puritan ideas, he would not be likely to look upon those ideas as criminal. Acting upon this supposition, they met him on his way to London in 1603, and presented the Millenary Petition, so called as representing the views of a thousand of the clergy. It was moderate in tone; there was no expression of any desire to remodel the Church after the Presbyterian form, no assailing the dignitaries of the Church, no assertion of the unscripturalness of Episcopacy. The petitioners asked for certain alterations in the Prayer Book, such as the removal of the words "absolution" and "priest"; they pleaded against the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in marriage; against the use of the cap and surplice, and for the discontinuance of the rite of confirmation. They petitioned also against "longsomeness of service and the abuse of Church songes and music," against baptism by women, and against excommunication by such lay persons as the archdeacon's commissary, or for trifles, and without the consent of pastors. They asked further for the restriction of ordination to those who could preach, and for the removal of abuses connected with the oppressive civil courts, tithe impropriations, and pluralities.

The
Millenary
Petition.

It seemed for a time as if their petition might be fruitful of good result. The following July the king of his own accord announced that he wished to encourage the growth of a preaching ministry by setting aside some of the inappropriate tithes belonging to the Crown for the purpose. In the autumn also he issued a proclamation to the effect that he was prepared to correct all abuses in the Church, and for the purpose of collecting the necessary information summoned a conference to meet in his presence in the course of the following winter. It was in answer to this summons that

The
Hampton
Court Con-
ference.

the Hampton Court Conference met on the 14th of January, 1604. When it did meet it was clear from the outset that the hopes of the Puritans were doomed to disappointment (p. 26). The king showed himself the partial advocate of the Church rather than the impartial arbiter of the conference; he spoke contemptuously of Presbyterianism as agreeing with Monarchy no better than God with the devil, and at the end of the proceedings he shuffled out of the room declaring that he would either make these Church reformers conform themselves or he would harry them out of the land. The bishops were delighted, the Puritans dejected. It has been described, not without reason, as a time of crisis in the Church of England when an opportunity of conciliation had unexpectedly returned and was foolishly lost. For most of the demands of the discontented were moderate, and might with good grace have been conceded; indeed, many of them had to be conceded to irresistible necessity in after days, while others were conceded freely by men who afterwards felt their reasonableness. But James was wedded to "historic tradition."

The
Canons
of 1604.

The Hampton Court Conference was followed by the canons of Convocation of 1604, the book of which had been agreed upon in the session of 1603. These canons, not having been submitted to Parliament, were not legally binding upon the laity, but under the inspiration of Bancroft, who acted as president, they were so constructed as to make it impossible for any man who disagreed with the constitution and Articles of the Church as set forth in them to remain honestly among its clergy. The men who refused to accept the tests thus imposed were deprived, and some three hundred ministers submitted to ejection from their cures.

The
Separatist
Exiles.

The Separatists outside the Church shared the hopes cherished by the rest of the Puritans on the accession of James. In 1603 they too presented their petition to the king, pleading for enlarged liberty of worship, and recalling the hardships many of them had endured in exile, and others from grievous persecutions at home. They also referred his Majesty to their Confession of Faith already presented to him, and briefly stated the points of difference between them and the Church of England.

Many of the exiles referred to in this petition had fled to

Amsterdam after the execution of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry in 1593 (III., p. 592), and on the passing of the severe Conventicle Act which followed. Their numbers were reinforced by the arrival of others of their brethren from time to time. There came many of those who, as already stated, refused the subscription required by the canons recently enacted by Convocation; and subsequently there came also, under the leadership of William Brewster and John Robinson, the members of the little church at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire,



SCROOBY MANOR HOUSE, NOTTS.

who fled to Amsterdam in 1608. These afterwards removed to Leyden, and thence in 1620 to New England, and are historically interesting as the Pilgrim Fathers of America (p. 82).

It was from the midst of this exiled community thus miscellaneously gathered in Amsterdam that the English Baptists took their rise. Previous to this there had come to England several of the German Anabaptists, who had been roughly handled and sent back, but no native community of that persuasion had as yet arisen. The origin of the Baptist denomination of a later time was on this wise. In 1536 Menno Simons, a priest of the Romish Church, became

**The
English
Baptists.**

a Protestant and joined himself to one of the Continental Baptist communities. In January, 1537, he placed himself at the head of those who rose up and resisted the proceedings of the violent and fanatical Anabaptists of the time. He seems to have been a man of learning and ability, who gave up all for his religious convictions. Living a life of incessant labour and suffering, as the result of his earnest and successful ministry compact and vigorous churches were formed in Emden, Cologne, Wismar, and Holstein, as well as in Friesland. These Mennonite communities are not to be confounded with the Anabaptists of the Continent, for from the first they refused all connection with the party of Stork, Stubner, Cellerarius, and Munzer, who indulged in enthusiastic revelations which were accepted as superseding the Scriptures. The Mennonites seem to have received their special views from the Swiss Baptists, and were strongly opposed to infant baptism, practising only the baptism of adults. Up to this point, however, it must be observed that they were not immersionists, but administered the rite only by affusion, pouring water on the head of the person received into the visible Church.

The First
English
Baptist
Church.

John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, two of the Amsterdam Puritan exiles, being thrown into connection with them, came to embrace their views, and, together with some thirty others of the English exiles, formed a Baptist church in that city. In 1611 Helwys and his friend John Murton returned to England, bringing with them several of the members of this newly organised community, and in London founded the first English Baptist church in 1612. A second church seems to have arisen somewhere near Newgate in 1615, of which Murton was the pastor, and which by the year 1626 had increased to a hundred and fifty members. In that year also we find that there were in brotherly relations with these London churches General or Arminian Baptist churches in Lincoln, Coventry, Salisbury, and Tiverton. Thus the earliest Baptist churches in this country were Mennonite in their origin, continued to correspond with the Mennonite Church in Amsterdam, and baptised after their mode by affusion. Baptism by immersion seems not to have been practised in England till the year 1641.

The Independents, sometimes known as Brownists (Vol.

III., p. 592) and sometimes as Barrowists, though more generally as Separatists, who had a church in London probably even in Mary's reign, and certainly in the early years of Elizabeth, continued to meet in secret and under great difficulties till the rigorous Conventicle Act of 1593 disorganised and scattered them. Henry Jacob, who had lived in Leyden in close fellowship with the Pilgrim Fathers' church in that city, returned to London in 1616, and in that year collected again such of the scattered members of the early Separatist church as still remained. With these and other adherents he formed a church in Southwark, which has remained in existence to the present day. In 1624 he emigrated to America, and was succeeded by John Lothrop, who, with forty-two members of the church, was discovered by Laud, then Bishop of London, arrested, and sent to prison for two years. On his release he and several members of the church also emigrated to New England, forming a community at Scituate, in Plymouth county. Lothrop was succeeded in the pastorate in London by the celebrated John Canne, and afterwards by Samuel How, under whose care this ancient Separatist church pursued its course till Commonwealth times.

The Inde-
pendents.

By the time James had been some ten years upon the throne the two opposing principles—Catholic and Puritan—had established themselves in the Church and were in perpetual conflict. In the early stages of the Reformation, and even till far on in the reign of Elizabeth, there had been no assertion of the Divine right of the Episcopal system. This was first made by Bancroft, afterwards archbishop, in the sermon he preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1588, and was only made as a counter-claim to that set up for the Divine right of Presbyterianism. As Hallam says, it was not till then that the defenders of the established order found out that one claim of Divine right was best met by another. Even Archbishop Whitgift said he could not bring himself to believe in this Divine right of Episcopacy—he wished he could. It remained, indeed, very much in abeyance after Bancroft's and Bilson's advocacy until Laud began to enforce its claims upon Churchmen by the rigour of his discipline. Even before the policy of Laud rose into the ascendant Puritanism began to fare more and more hardly within the Church itself. Then

Puritan
Claims
and
Catholic
Tradition.

The
Decay of
Religious
Feeling.

came a serious decay of religious life in the nation. Every form of moral earnestness was treated with contempt. If a country gentleman only discountenanced vice among his neighbours, or protected the oppressed among the Puritans, he was denounced as a Puritan himself, and scoffed at accordingly. Lucy, the wife of Colonel Hutchinson, has described



MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON.

(Prefixed to her "*Memoirs*," 1815 : from a family portrait.)

for us the storm of insult that fell upon her father's household, and upon other loyalists in the same rank of life, simply because they dared to be singular in an age of prevailing vice. The same fate was shared by many in lowlier rank. Richard Baxter, who was a youth in Shropshire in the reign of James, tells us how his father, who was one of the humbler yeomen, was greeted with no better name than Puritan, precisian, and hypocrite because he preferred reading his Bible on Sunday

afternoons to dancing to the sound of fife and tabret round the May-pole on the green before his door. Mrs. Hutchinson further records how every stage, every table, every puppet play scoffed at the Puritans; and how fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them "as finding it the most gainful way of fooling." The result was that many who did not claim to be Puritans, but who retained some moral earnestness and decency of life and some remaining sense of self-respect, began to drift the Puritan way (*cf.* p. 219).

While the two opposing forces of Catholic tradition and Puritan earnestness were thus contending within the arena of Church life, the two opposing forces of absolutism and desire for popular government were at the same time at war within the political sphere. The upholders of the idea of the Divine right of bishops were, as a rule, the upholders also of absolute monarchy and the Divine right of kings. Men like Bancroft and Laud, who determined the policy of the Church, made the serious mistake of allying its interests with the side hostile to the constitutional liberties of the nation. To do this with a high hand in the midst of a high-spirited nation could only end in one way—in disaster and overthrow. History tells that it did end in the catastrophe of civil war and in the temporary destruction of the very institutions the advocates of absolute government sought to maintain.

Political
and Re-
ligious
Forces.

HENRY VII. had revived the militia system, and had compelled the counties to supply a certain number of men according to their means (II., p. 667). His immediate successors continued and developed his policy, and in 1558 a statute was passed enforcing the liability of each man to possess arms in accordance with his wealth, and placing the whole management of the militia in the hands of lords-lieutenant of the counties. In 1572 an elaborate series of instructions was issued by Elizabeth and the Privy Council, directed to all the justices of the peace in the various counties, "for general musters and traynings of all manner of persons liable for the warre, to serve as well on horseback as on foote." The object of these musters was not only to ascertain the number of men and horses, but also to examine the armour and weapons, while

ARTHUR
HASSALL.
The Army
in Tran-
sition.

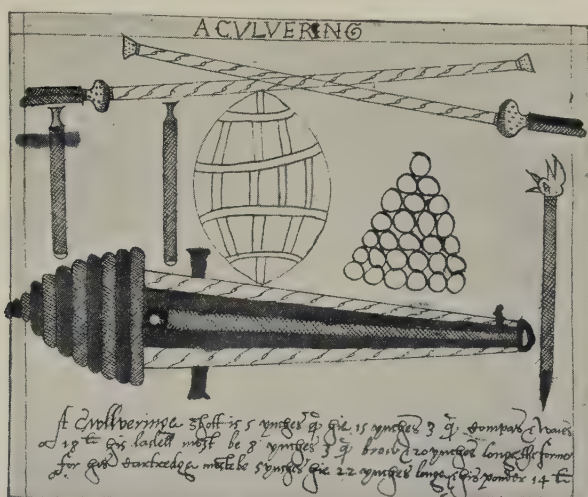
the examination was usually followed by the fixing of a certain price upon each horse, which the Sovereign was to pay in case the horse was slain or incurably lamed in service. During the Tudor reigns, too, the system of pressing men for military and naval service grew up, and under the early Stuarts was generally developed. Both James I. and Charles I., by their action with regard to the armed forces of the country, made apparent the necessity for complete transformation of the military system. By repealing the Statute of Winchester (1 Jas. I., c. 25) James I. did away with the special obligations to possess arms, and it was enacted that magazines of arms and provisions should be collected in one place in each county. Commissions of array were, however, revived, and the compulsory impressment of soldiers was used by Charles I., in spite of the attempts made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to check this practice. These proceedings caused great discontent, and were condemned by the Long Parliament, which in 1642 endeavoured to secure the nomination of lords-lieutenant (p. 23).

**Charles
I. and
National
Defence.**

Charles I., in the early years of his reign, infringed the principle that, except in cases of invasion, troops raised by commissions of array should not leave their counties, and then only by the sanction of Parliament and at the expense of the Crown. He endeavoured to compel the local authorities to take upon themselves the duties of the central government, and defend the coasts of England against attack at their own expense. In August, 1625, Essex being in danger of attack from Dunkirk, Charles, unable to raise adequate funds, attempted, with the support of the Privy Council, to constrain the Essex trained bands to defend Harwich at their own charges. The Essex men, however, while recognising their obligation to defend the country if in danger of invasion, refused to pay the expenses entailed during their period of service, and Charles was compelled to desist from his attempt. In 1627 the Government incurred additional unpopularity by billeting the soldiers who had returned from the island of Rhé (pp. 15, 316) about the country, and in 1628 the Commons found it necessary in the Petition of Right to protest definitely against compulsory billeting. In 1639, as soon as war with Scotland became inevitable, a certain proportion from the trained bands of the north were called out,

and the nobility, in virtue of an antiquated obligation to personal service, were summoned, each with a suitable following, to defend the borders. Those of the nobles who were unable to attend sent a sum of money in lieu of service. But, undisciplined and without good commanders, Charles' army had no chance of immediate success, and the king was wise in agreeing to the Treaty of Berwick, which closed the first Bishops' War.

The absolute inadequacy of the existing military forces to repel invasion, and their general unreliableness, was again



A CULVERIN (MS. Sloane 2497).

strikingly exemplified in the second Bishops' War, which broke out in 1640. On this occasion the army was mainly composed of pressed men from the shires south of the Humber, who, through want of pay and the absence of discipline, became at once disorderly and at times exceedingly mutinous. The legality of coat-and-conduct money—a revival of the method of compelling localities to pay for the troops so raised—having been questioned, Charles fell back in his financial extremity upon commissions of array, which, in accordance with an Act passed in Henry IV.'s reign, the king could issue when an invasion was impending. Every county was bound to support the force raised within its borders for the defence of the realm. As soon as

**Military
Weakness.**

it left the county it was taken into the king's service. The rout of Newburn (August 28th, 1640) was sufficient to show Charles and his supporters the worthlessness of troops who, undisciplined, distrustful of their leaders, and mutinous through want of pay, had been led against the Scots.

With some plausibility it had been urged on behalf of the king that, though objection had been taken to the existing custom of pressing men for military service, it was well-nigh impossible to see how an army was to be maintained without such compulsory service. But in this, as in other matters, Charles showed an incapacity to appreciate the national feeling. Had he exercised in moderation his power to press; had he refrained from forced employment in foreign service; had he at once willingly removed the undoubted abuse of billeting, and issued careful regulations with regard to the quartering of troops in the future; and had he consented to give civilians a legal remedy against soldiers—the burning question of the relations between the civil and military power might have been peaceably and satisfactorily settled.



PIKEMAN OF THE
XVIITH CENTURY.

(Tower of London.)

During the reigns of James I. and Charles I., changes with regard to the weapons used were being gradually effected. Halberts, bills, and all weapons termed staves, except the common pike, were gradually discarded, and, while muskets, callivers, and swords became the chief and almost the only arms carried by the infantry, the cavalry used swords, carbines, and pistols (p. 320).

In 1629 a survey was ordered to be made of all the armour, arms, and ammunition in the Tower of London, and in the forts and castles throughout the kingdom; and in 1632 Commissioners, consisting of experienced armourers and gun and pike makers, travelled through England and Wales, "to survey, prove, repair, and put the armour and weapons of the militia into a state of service." An attempt was also made about the same time

1642]

to bring about an uniformity in the armour and arms used. Ever since Elizabeth's reign defensive armour had begun to be laid aside, and Sir John Smith complains that captains embarking men for foreign service ordered them to throw away their poldrons, vambraces, and tasses as being incumbrances without use. In the time of James I., the buff coat or jerkin, originally worn under the cuirass, became frequently the substitute for it.

Thus the years covered by the reigns of the first two Stuart kings, previous to the meeting of the Long Parliament, form a transitional period in the history of military service in England. Charles's summons, in his extremity, of the feudal levy in 1640 was the last occasion on which that force was used; while his compulsory billeting of soldiers, his compulsory impressment of troops to serve outside the country, his commissions of array, and his levying of coat-and-conduct money, merely mark the last attempts of a desperate man to extricate himself, by methods obsolete if not actually illegal, from difficulties which he had himself created.

After the Restoration, while many of the customs resuscitated by Charles I. were laid by for ever, the general relations between the civil and military powers were harmoniously adjusted. The militia, recognised as a national force, became, on account of its local connection, extremely popular; while the Crown continued, with the sanction of Parliament, to exercise a veto on the appointment of its officers and a general controlling power over its movements. But this satisfactory settlement of what had



CUIRASSIER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Tower of London.)

proved to be thorny questions under Charles I. was not effected till the royal assertion of legal rights, and the royal claim to revive obsolete customs, had been for a time successfully contested by the Parliament in the Civil War.

THE royal navy under King James I. was, during a great part of the reign, in a very indifferent state. The disposition of the sovereign was pacific, if not pusillanimous, averse from an expenditure which he deemed to be not absolutely necessary, and forgetful of the responsibilities which were thrown upon the Government by the growing commerce of the country. Yet popular pressure to some extent forced the king's hand; and at least twice while he was on the throne England experienced, as she has often experienced since, a "naval scare," which resulted in certain measures of improvement and reform. On each occasion the "scare" led to the appointment of a commission to examine into the condition of the fleet, and to formulate plans for its amelioration. The report of the first commission, issued early in the reign, revealed great deficiencies in cordage, rigging, masts, anchors, appliances for mooring, canvas, seasoned timber, and boats; suggested certain plans for the permanent guarding of the Narrow Seas; pointed out how, if a moderate special expenditure were incurred to supply defects, the regular annual expenditure might be somewhat reduced; and provided for the correction of sundry abuses, notably in the matter of auditing accounts and accepting contractors' work. The commission



PIKES.

(Tower of London)

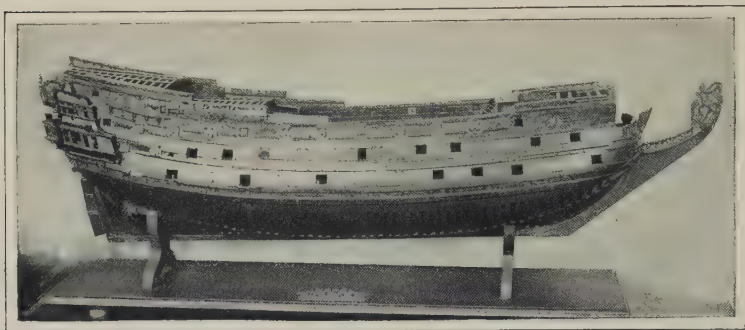
W. LAIRD
CLOWES.
The Navy;
Its Abuses.

of 1618 was more far-reaching and more important. Its proceedings furnish us with a full account of the civil economy of the service at the time, and for many years previously, and reveal the existence of considerable abuses. For example, the report declares that "great workes are taken in hand, and a multitude kept in pay, when neither materials nor money are provided;" that "when provisions are made, the best are not

chosen, nor the worst refused ;" that "the weights in his Majes. storehouse at Deptford have continued many yeares too light above a pound in a cwt.;" that, "as the weights have lesse, so the bookes sometimes have more, weight than they ought ;" that "many necessary workes have been neglected which might have kept the shippes from decay, and workemen suffered to clamour and dishonour the state, whilst his Mats. treasure hath been expended upon superfluous emptions"; that, "besides the quantity, the price, of things are no lesse exorbitant, some being bought by art, and not by the markt"; that "his Matys. provisions of all kindes are wasted without measure," and so on. It appears that it had become the regular rule in the royal yards to charge in the books higher prices than were paid by merchant shipowners ; and it may be assumed that the difference did not always go to the sellers. Among the more startling discrepancies are mentioned, ensigns at £4 18s., which ought to have cost only £2 13s. 4d. ; anchors at £3, which ought to have cost only £1 13s. per cwt. ; oil at £20 a ton, which ought to have cost only £16 ; tar at £18, which ought to have cost only £7 10s. ; and 35-foot boats at £39, which ought to have cost only £25. Waste and peculation seem to have been general ; and ships, while provided with quantities of useless gear, were in danger of becoming themselves useless owing to lack of gear which was absolutely necessary. Particular complaint also is made of "the selling of most places at such rates that the buyers professe openly they will not pay and work, and that they cannot live except they must steale." And there are some really remarkable examples of unblushing dishonesty. The *Bonadventure*, it is said, "was broken up above seven yeares past, and yet the king hath paid £63 yearly, for keeping her, to her officers." Again, the "*Advantage* was burnt about five yeares since, yet keepeth at the charge of £104 9s. 5d." The report rendered all this kind of thing impossible, but, while instituting reasonable economies, avoided the mistake of cutting down expenses too freely. Indeed, it proposed to treat the naval service with a liberality and generosity which up to that time had been unheard of ; and among its wisest recommendations may be found one—perhaps the earliest of its kind—for the conferring of pensions upon certain officers who had grown old, or had been maimed in the performance of their duty. Concerning the building of new

Proposals
for
Reform.

vessels, the commission put forward numerous suggestions, among which were that "their mould . . . should have the length treble to the breadth, and breadth in like proportion answerable to the depth, but not to draw above 16-foote water, because deaper shipps are seldom goode saylers. . . Besides, they must be somewhat snugg built, without double gallarys and too lofty upper workes, which overcharge many shipps and make them coome faire, but not worke well at sea." The report was very long, very careful, and very sweeping. The most astonishing thing about it is that it was silent upon the subject of the punishment of the scoundrels who for a generation had been



MODEL OF A SHIP TEMP. JAMES I.

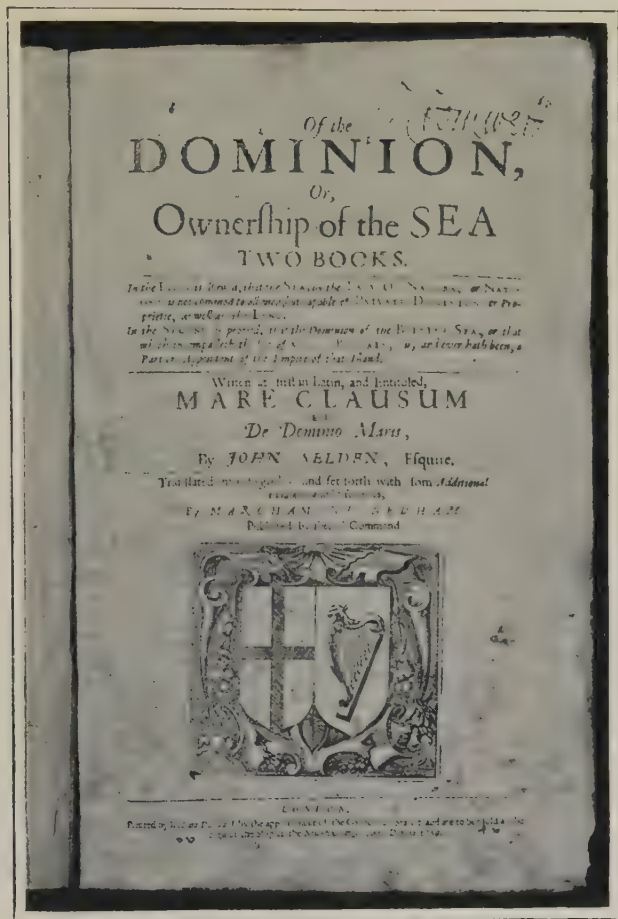
(United Service Institution Museum, Whitehall.)

using the navy and the dockyards for their own purposes, and had robbed the State at the risk of ruining it. From 1618 forward the strength and condition of the navy improved until the end of the reign.

Charles I.
and the
Navy.

Charles I. determined to carry the improvements further. He was impelled to it, not only by his natural disposition, but also by the ambitious character of Richelieu and by the truculent Dutch spirit, which was aroused by the publication of the "Mare Liberum" of Grotius. One of his most beneficent measures was the forbidding of English shipwrights and naval artificers from passing beyond the seas and entering the service of foreign Powers. But the king, though undoubtedly animated by large and patriotic conceptions of what his navy should be, was ill-advised as to the manner in which he set to work to

render the fleet efficient. Ship-money enabled him to send to sea, in 1635, under Lindsey, Monson, and Pennington, and in 1636 under Northumberland, the finest and best-equipped



TITLE-PAGE TO SELDEN'S "DOMINION OF THE SEA," SHOWING CROMWELL'S SIGNATURE.

(By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House.)

squadrons that had ever quitted English ports. But although the supplies raised for the purpose were used honestly and advantageously, and although the work done by the squadrons

contributed to the increased glory of the kingdom, the arbitrary measures adopted for the strengthening of the fleet stirred up throughout the country the revolt which ultimately lost Charles his life, as well as his crown. Yet Charles, in spite of his tyranny, and in spite of his infamous action in the Pennington affair, deserves recollection among the greatest furtherers of British sea-power. Under him naval architecture reached a level above which it scarcely moved for nearly a century. In the *Sovereign of the Seas*, built in 1637, the country acquired a ship which was second to none in the world, and which for more than a generation was the envy of foreign seamen. And Charles knew how to employ his fleet. Without bloodshed, he used it to awe the French and Dutch, and to compel them to pay tribute; and, again without bloodshed, he used it to oblige Spain to recognise the British sovereignty of the narrow seas, and to concede "the honour of the flag." Under the Commonwealth the navy did deeds which had not previously been paralleled. Some part of the credit belongs, as a matter of justice, to Charles I. and his advisers, Buckingham, Lindsey, Russell, Slingsby, and Ailesbury, though it must be admitted that the development of the navy progressed more rapidly under Cromwell than under the king, who, towards the end of his reign, had much else to think of.

**Naval
Pay.**

A new rate of wages for officers and seamen was established under Charles I. in 1626, and remained in force until after the Revolution. The pay per month (thirteen lunar months being counted to the year) varied for the leading ranks and ratings as follows:—Captains, £4 6s. 8d. to £14; masters, £3 to £4 13s. 9d.; lieutenants, £2 16s. to £3 10s.; boatswains, £1 3s. 4d. to £2 5s.; master-carpenters, £1 1s. to £1 17s. 6d.; pursers, £1 3s. 4d. to £2; surgeons, £1 10s.; master-gunners, £1 3s. 4d. to £2; ordinary seamen, 15s.; and boys, 7s. 6d. In the two or three years immediately before the Rebellion, when ships first began to be classified into "rates," the navy, owing to the circumstances of the times, fell off a little, and in 1641 it consisted only of forty-two vessels of, in the aggregate, 22,411 tons, divided into five first-rates, twelve second-rates, eight third-rates, six fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, and nine sixth-rates; but in quality, if not in numbers, the ships were better than at any previous date; and it was not without some justification that in that year, in answer

to the Remonstrance which was laid by the Commons before the people, it was urged by the Royalists that "a sure proof that the king has formed no system for enslaving his people is that the chief object of his government has been to raise a naval, not a military, force; a project useful, honourable, nay, indispensably requisite, and, in spite of his necessities, brought almost to a happy conclusion."

The advances made in shipbuilding can best be indicated by means of a summarised description of the *Sovereign of the Seas*, which marked as great an improvement upon the ships of Elizabeth as the finest ship of that queen had marked upon the *Henri Grace à Dieu*.

Ship-
building.

The ship was designed in 1634 by Phineas Pett, who had earlier been the builder of the *Royal Prince*, and who informs us: "On 14th May, 1635, I was commanded by His Majesty to hasten into the North, to provide and prepare the frame-timber, plank, and tree-nails for the great new ship at Woolwich. I left my sons to see to the moulds and other necessities shipped in a Newcastleman, hired on purpose to transport our provisions and workmen to Newcastle. . . . The frame, as it was got ready, was shipped and sent in colliers from Newcastle and Sunderland. The 21st December, 1635, we laid the keel in the dock. She was launched 13th October, 1637, and named the *Sovereign of the Seas*." "It was," explains Derrick, "the practice in the North of England (particularly in Staffordshire) at the before-mentioned period, and for many years after, to bark timber standing, and let it remain in that state for a time to season; and the *Sovereign of the Seas*, built with such timber, by way of experiment, was a very durable ship."

The *Sovereign of the Seas*, as originally built, was a three-decker, the first of her kind, and, according to an official list now in the Department of the Controller of the Navy, was (probably measured on the gun-deck) 169 feet 9 inches long and 48 feet 4 inches broad, with a depth of hold of 19 feet 4 inches, and a burthen of 1,683 tons. The keel, as appears from other documents, was 128 feet long, and the entire length, from fore-end of beak-head to after-end of stern, was 232 feet, while the height from the bottom of the keel to the top of the central lantern was 76 feet. The master-builder was Peter Pett, one of the sons of Phineas. Thomas Heywood, who designed her external decora-

tions, says of her : " She hath three flush deckes, and a forecastle, an halfe-decke, a quarter-deck, and a round-house. Her lower tyre hath thirty ports which are to be furnished with demi-cannon " (32 prs.) " and whole cannon " (60 prs.) " throughout, being able to beare them. Her middle tyre hath also thirty ports for demi-culverin " (9 prs.) " and whole culverin " (18 prs.). " Her third tyre hath twentie-sixe ports for other ordnance. Her forecastle hath twelve ports, and her halfe-decke hath fourteene ports. She hath thirteene or fourteene ports more within-board for murdering pieces, besides a greate many loope-holes



THE ROYAL SOVEREIGN, DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT. (*Trinity House.*)

(By permission of the Elder Brethren.)

out of the cabins for musket-shot. She carrieth, moreover, ten pieces of chase ordnance in her right forward, and ten right aft." Mr. Heywood may have been an admirable decorator ; but the above passages, and an extraordinary representation, which he has handed down, of the vessel herself, conspire to indicate that he knew little about ships. He enumerates, it will be observed, no fewer than 132 guns, without counting the "murdering pieces"; and the ship certainly never carried anything like that number. The highest establishment was, probably, 100 guns,

which, by the aid of Vandervelde's later picture of the vessel, and extraneous information concerning her, may, with great chance of accuracy, be assigned as follows:—

Lower deck		26	48 or 60 prs.
Main deck		28	18 prs.
Upper deck		28	5 prs.
Forecastle		4	5 prs.
Half-deck and quarter-deck...		12	5 prs.
On deck		2	3 prs.

100



THE ROYAL PRINCE, DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT. (*Trinity House.*)

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

In 1684 this fine vessel was practically rebuilt, and altered to an 80-gun ship, and thenceforth known as the *Royal Sovereign*. In 1696 she was negligently burnt at Chatham on January 27th. Few ships of the British Navy have seen more hard blows struck than she saw while in service under Blake, Monk (or Monck),¹

¹ That the latter is the correct spelling is proved by a signature in the author's possession.

Penn, James Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Spragge, Torrington, and Russell.

CHARLES
RAYMOND
BEAZLEY.
Explora-
tion and
Colonisa-
tion.

THE heroic age of English exploration and discovery is followed by one of settlement and trading progress, when the nation of Raleigh and the Pilgrim Fathers becomes a great colonising state, and begins the foundation of what was eventually to be the United States of North America; but this is an activity almost entirely confined to "Western planting." In the Old World, English enterprise and commerce, just as it had, before 1553, been utterly overshadowed by the successes of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, is now, in the earlier seventeenth century, almost as much overshadowed by those of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, whose seamen between the death of Elizabeth and the defeat of Van Tromp were unquestionably the first in Europe, and whose Empire in the East, founded on the ruins of Albuquerque's, was the immediate predecessor of our own. In the time of the early Stuarts, the Dutch, far more than the English, were in possession of the carrying-trade of the world; the greatest achievements of maritime discovery in these years fell to their credit; but it was to a large extent their energy and success in the East Indies that roused the competitive zeal of England and directed its attention, with fresh hope of success, against the older Catholic monopolists, to the same quarters of the globe.

English
Trade
with
India.

1. After the visits of Drake and Cavendish on their return home "by the course of the Portugals" (Vol. III., p. 685 *seq.*), and the voyage of Raymond and Lancaster, there was no great development¹ of English enterprise in the Far East, during the rest of Elizabeth's reign, except by the overland travels of the merchants who followed in the steps of Newberie and Ralph Fitch (III., p. 657). But as early as 1599 the Association for Trading with India was formed in London; in 1600, as the East India Company, it obtained its first charter; and its first official fleet under the veteran Lancaster was sent out in 1601. This and the next two voyages of the new company's servants were to the Spice Islands rather than to the mainland of India.

¹ One squadron equipped by private individuals and sent to the East Indies in 1596 was a disastrous failure.

1642]

Bantam, in Java, was throughout this time the chief English factory in the East; and the great aim of English enterprise on this side was to obtain a share in the trade of the Moluccas. But in 1609 Captain Hawkins landed at Surat on a mission to the Mogul Emperor Jehangir, went up to Agra and begged leave to establish a factory on the coast; however, he was thwarted and obliged to leave without success. In the same way Sir Henry Middleton, who visited Mocha, Surat, and other points on the coast of the Indian Ocean in 1601, making a most determined effort to establish an opening for English intercourse in the face of the prior and exclusive claims of other Europeans, only offended the Mogul authorities, was shipwrecked near Bantam, and gained no advantage from his victories over the Portuguese.

Captain Best in 1612 was more fortunate. With his voyage began the East India Company's regular operations at Surat. He was allowed to leave his factory stationed there, under an arrangement, ratified by the emperor himself, which provided for the security of English trade; he repulsed an attack from Goa, and did not a little to change the spasmodic intercourse of his countrymen with Hindostan and the Deccan into a regular commerce. The Persian trade also now first began to be "enterprised" by English merchants from the side of India.

In 1615 Captain Downton followed Best, and in the same year sailed the first ambassador from the English court to that of the Great Mogul. Sir Thomas Roe was one of the real discoverers of Hindostan for his countrymen. No earlier traveller from our shores had spent so long a time, explored so thoroughly, or learnt so much in the heart of greater India; and, in spite of envy and opposition, he gained a fresh privilege from Jehangir, giving leave in general terms for the establishment of English factories throughout his empire, particularly in Surat, Sind, and Bengal, protecting English merchants from exactions, and affording some conveniences for the transport of their goods.

Before this time the organisation of the company had been put upon a new footing. Its first nine voyages had been carried out by such of its members as chose to combine, separately, for each adventure; and each in turn was managed by a committee named by the subscribers.

"But in 1612-13 it was determined to raise a general stock

from all the members, adequate to provide for four voyages, on the principles of a joint-stock company, the profits to be shared according to the amount of each man's stock, and the whole to be exclusively conducted by the directors."

In 1622 the new trade that had been opened with Persia, since Best's voyage, by way of India, was secured by the alliance of the English company with Shah Abbas and by the capture of



VIEW OF ORMUZ ABOUT 1570.

(Braun and Hohenberg, "*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*," 1573.)

Ormuz, which even before Albuquerque's first arrival off its harbour in 1507 had been one of the main emporiums of Eastern trade, and, through its control by the Portuguese, had become one of the main centres of European influence on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Now, after more than a century of almost fabulous prosperity, it fell at a single blow, never to rise again. The English fleet, said to have been made up of five ships, carrying two hundred guns in all, which assisted at the capture of the island, was rewarded by a share of the booty, the grant of

1642]

a factory in the new market of Gambroon, which became in a great measure the successor to Ormuz, and an enlarged trading privilege.

It is, perhaps, of more interest to us now, that William Baffin, the discoverer of Baffin's Bay, was killed in the attack. He had already gone to the East Indies in 1618, and had been mate of a ship sailing from Surat to Mocha; now, in reconnoitring the Portuguese stronghold, he had undertaken the capture of a small fort, named Kismis, in the neighbourhood, and there met his death—a happier one at least than Hudson's, whose chief life-work had been done in the same Arctic regions where Baffin had reached the furthest known (1616).

The jealousy of the Dutch at the intrusion of their old allies upon the trade of the Spice Islands had already led to many quarrels; and in 1619 an effort was made to end them by a union between the Dutch and English companies, but whatever else it did, this alliance failed to produce any union of hearts, and the massacre of Amboyna in 1623 (p. 189) not only broke up a nominal friendship, but revealed an enmity so bitter that we may date from this time the mortal struggle between Holland and England for the mastery of the seas and the world's trade routes. The joint attack of Dutch and English upon the Portuguese of Bombay in 1628 was one of the last actions undertaken in common by the sailors and merchants of the new commercial rivals.

Competition
with the
Dutch.

In 1635 peace was made with the Viceroy of Goa; and the London Company began to turn its attention to the protection of its Indian trade against its enemies of the Low Countries. Thus, in 1628, the English factory at Armegon, on the Coromandel coast was carefully fortified against a probable attack from Java, and in 1639–40 the territory of Madras, just acquired, was guarded for the same reason by Fort St. George. These two earliest of our possessions in India were only defended by imposing garrisons of twenty-three and twenty-six men respectively, but they were the beginnings of the Indian possessions of the English people.¹

¹ The company failed about this time to establish a trade with Lahore by way of the Indus, as desired; but they now sent cargoes to Bassora and the Red Sea, and commenced (c. 1640) a regular trade with Bengal centring round their factory at Balasore.

The
North-East
Passage.

2. On the north-east the chief English enterprises of these years that can be associated with discovery in any sense are the three voyages of Henry Hudson in 1607, 1608, and 1609 in the prosecution of the North-East passage. In none of these did he get to the east of Nova Zembla; in 1609 he transferred his attention to the North-West; and the English trade and intercourse with Russia yielded very inadequate Stuart parallels to the great Tudor adventurers, merchants, and discoverers—Chancellor, Willoughby, Pet, Jackman, or Anthony Jenkinson.

America.

3. As under Elizabeth, so under the Stuarts, the Western or American side of English expansion dwarfed every other. But as exploration in the Western World passes into settled and organised colonisation on an ever-increasing scale, so the United Colonies of England over sea become part of the regular Western civilisation, and develop the fixed interests of political, religious, and, in one word, of social history. The special kind of discovering advance, with which alone this section is concerned, becomes a detail, an offshoot of the early life of a great people—the greatest colony in the history of the world.

Thus, whereas in the sixteenth century all English enterprise over sea was in a measure part of the story of our exploration, of our discovering and expanding energy in the strict sense, we must in the seventeenth century try to separate the advance into new regions from that steady progress in fields now fully won and occupied which is parallel to the regular life of European States.

Cape Cod
Discovered.

In the last year of the old queen's reign, Bartholomew Gosnold, sailing direct from Falmouth to Maine, had sighted land in 42°, had discovered a cape which he named Cape Cod¹ (May 15), and a bay which he called Gosnold's Hope (Buzzard's Bay), and had built a fort and storehouse on Elizabeth's Island (Cuttyhunk), which was the first of our attempts at a New England settlement. The plan of a permanent colony was defeated by the jealousies and fears of the men who were to hold it; but Gosnold, who had taken but seven weeks on his outward voyage, returned in five with glowing reports of the country, a

¹ Cape Cod, as Bancroft says ("America," I., 88), was the "first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen, while as yet there was not one European family on the Continent from Florida to Hudson's Bay."

crew in perfect health, and some most valuable discoveries achieved in four short months.

His success soon brought followers in his track. The merchants of Bristol, with the encouragement of Raleigh and Hakluyt, which Gosnold had also enjoyed, despatched Martin Pring with two ships—the *Speedwell* and *Discoverer*—of 50 and 26 tons apiece, on the same direct route across the North Atlantic. Pring sailed on April 10, 1603, a few days after Elizabeth's death,¹ sighted the American coast in Penobscot Bay, explored several of the harbours and estuaries of Maine, and, doubling Cape Ann, landed in Massachusetts. There he reached as far south as Martha's Vineyard, and thence came back to England, after a six months' voyage, to second the enthusiastic appeals of Gosnold for a regular and lasting settlement over sea.

A third New England voyage² was the result. In 1605 George Waymouth, who had sailed to Labrador in 1593 in quest of the North-West passage, started under the patronage of the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour on Easter Sunday of that year. By May 14 he was off Cape Cod; then steering north, he explored the estuary of the Penobscot. On his return his report excited the special attention of the Governor of



THE COAST OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(John Smith, "General History of Virginia," 1624.)

¹ His was a private venture, and so independent of the Crown.

² The famous John Smith of Virginia claimed to be the first to give the name of New England in 1614.

Plymouth, Ferdinando Gorges, who was deeply interested in Western enterprise, but had despaired of success in the comparative absence of good roads and harbours, as reported by earlier travellers; now Waymouth, Pring, and Gosnold seemed to have solved this difficulty by their discoveries.

Virginia.

It was not in New England, however, but in the old ground of Virginia, that the first English colony was permanently planted — as it was there that the first serious attempts at such a colony had been made. The time had come, and by the autumn of 1606 every preparation had been made, for another Western planting, which was destined to be lasting.

More than a hundred years had now passed since the discovery of America, and as yet there had been no extensive settlements of the European overflow, save in Central America, between Florida on the north and the Tropic of Capricorn on the south. The seventeenth century saw a revolution in American colonisation. The tiny French settlement in the far north grew into a great Canadian dominion, and England, which, in spite of all the Elizabethan voyages, had not acquired at Elizabeth's death a foot of land in the New World, entered upon that career which first gave her the control of the North American coast, and then brought into being the one great independent State which arose from the expansion of Europe and of Christendom at the end of the Middle Ages. The Spanish and Portuguese settlements in tropical America failed to work out a vigorous life of their own. The United States of North America, planted by English enterprise, progressed so steadily and so far in the social evolution of the new time, that they came to represent the whole drama, as it were, of European colonisation, the highest results of European progress.

And the beginnings of this new State were fairly made when, on April 10, 1606, James I., cancelling the patent of Walter Raleigh, as forfeited by his attainder, issued the charter dividing Virginia between the First Colony of the London Company and the Second Colony of the Plymouth Company,¹ and when, on December 19, three ships started to

¹ One hundred and nine years after Cabot had discovered the North American continent, forty-one years after the settlement of Florida, one year after the colonising of Barbadoes.

colonise the "dear strand of Virginia, earth's only paradise," according to the charter.¹

The fleet, carrying 105 emigrants, with only twelve labourers and four carpenters, against 48 gentlemen, was driven by storms beyond the old settlement of Raleigh, which it was apparently intended to recolonise, into the splendid bay of the Chesapeake, where the hamlet of Jamestown was founded May 13, 1607, on a peninsula about 50 miles above the mouth of the James river



THE COAST OF MAINE.

(John Smith, "General History of Virginia," 1624.)

In the middle of June the Admiral, Christopher Newport, after exploring the James river to the falls, and visiting the native

¹ The First Colony was granted land from 34° N. to 38° N., with the right to settle as far as 41° N. if they were first in the field: this Southern Colony was to be controlled by gentlemen chiefly living in London, and hence known as the London Company. The Second Colony held land between 41° N. and 45° N., with the right of settling as far as 38° N. if first in the field: this Northern Colony was controlled by merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and the West of England, hence known as the Plymouth Company. Each company was to own the coast-land 50 miles N. and S. of the first settlement and 100 miles inland. The nearest settlements of the two were to be 100 miles apart. A Council of Virginia was soon established in England to superintend both colonies, whose real projectors, after Raleigh, had been Gosnold, John Smith, Richard Hakluyt, Chief Justice Popham, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Emperor Powhatan, in his capital of twelve wigwams, returned to England for fresh supplies, while the government of the colony, for all practical purposes, fell upon John Smith,¹ the hero of the enterprise, who alone succeeded in making it permanent. "More wakeful to gather provisions than the covetous to find gold," striving "more to keep the country than the faint-hearted to abandon it," he not only put down with a strong hand all con-



SMITH'S RESCUE BY POCAHONTAS.

(John Smith, "General History of Virginia," 1624.)

spiracies to upset and desert the settlement, kept the colony alive through a period of disease, misfortune, and disorder, explored a great tract of the upland, and made friends with the natives, but

¹ He had left a life, by his own account, that reminds one of Harold Hardrada in the eleventh century—first as a soldier in the Netherland wars; then as a traveller through France, Italy, and Egypt; then as a crusader in Hungary against the Turks; as a slave in Constantinople and the Crimea; as a fugitive through the forests of Transylvania; as a warrior in Morocco; finally as chief promoter of the Western planting, and the real founder of the Virginia Colony (*cf.* p. 82, note).

1642]

clearly laid down the true principles of Western planting, which Raleigh and Frobisher and Humphrey Gilbert had never grasped. It was not by finding gold, he insisted, that the new venture



POWHATAN'S HABIT.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

could succeed; but by the industry of husbandmen, labourers, and mechanics. "Nothing is to be expected, but by labour." The companies' directors, the Council of Virginia at home, had the crudest of notions how to found a colony, the wildest of ideas about the geography of the new-found parts. They ordered the

emigrants to look for a passage into the Pacific by some stream flowing from the north-west; they sent over such crowds of greedy adventurers, who had "no talk, no hope, no work, but to dig gold, refine gold, load gold," that Smith wrote back to beg for "but thirty carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, rather than a thousand of such as we have."

John
Smith
as Ex-
plorer.

Yet even these men were reduced to some kind of order and put to some kind of work by Smith, who, in the intervals of government, found time to explore the bay of Chesapeake, and the estuaries of the Susquehannah, the Potomac, and the Chickahominy—a navigation of nearly 3,000 miles—and outlined his discoveries in a map of remarkable merit which he sent back to the company in London. Among the savages he saved his life by showing a pocket-compass, and explaining its use to the chief¹: he was the first Englishman to find out and describe the great tribe of the Mohawks, the only man who could keep order in Jamestown when flooded by the London Company with the offscourings of London society; and the settlement which he took in hand when reduced to fifty souls, with hardly ten men "able to stand," he left 490 strong, well organised, prosperous, and even fairly content, by the strict application to every emigrant of an unfashionable and obsolete, but useful rule, "that he who would not work, might not eat."

The second charter of the London Company in 1609 (May 23rd), increasing the privileges and members of the settlement, and putting it under the direction of a number of influential men² representing the nobles and gentry, the army and the bar, the industry and trade of England, had appointed Lord Delaware Governor of the Colony for life. But when he arrived off Jamestown (June 9, 1610) some six months after Smith had been forced to leave for England by a gunpowder injury which no surgeon of the colony could cure, it was to find the emigrants on the point of abandoning the enterprise altogether. The distress of the "starving time" in the spring of this year had reduced

¹ On another occasion he declared his life was saved by the daughter of Powhatan, Pocahontas, "the only nonpareil of the country," who was afterwards converted, married to a colonist, John Rolfe, and brought to England (1617), where she died.

² *E.g.* Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Oliver Cromwell, etc., besides Hakluyt and John Smith.

1642]

the settlers to sixty; the survivors wanted, before leaving, to burn the town where their life had been so miserable, and, as they fell down the stream with the tide on June 8th, "none dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness" since Smith had left. Meeting the long-boat of Lord Delaware at the mouth of the James river on June 9th, the face of things was entirely and instantly changed: the restoration of the colony was begun the next day; Lord Delaware revived Smith's government; and the plantation soon recovered its earlier prosperity, while a trading agent, one Samuel Argall, resumed Smith's other work—his explorations to the north. "Doubt not," men now wrote home, "that God will raise our state and build His church in this excellent clime."¹

From this time, in spite of occasional depressions and renewed danger of the collapse of the entire scheme, as in 1611, after Delaware's return, the Virginia Colony had really entered upon its life as a settled though tiny state, or Established Civilisation. It had joined, on however small a scale, the federation of Christian Commonwealths.²

Meantime, while the London Company was establishing the southern colony on the Chesapeake, the Plymouth Company had

¹ Yet they complained, "this plantation has undergone the reproofs of the base world [it had been scoffed at on the English stage]: papists and players, the scum and dregs of the earth, mock such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."

² The subsequent steps in the story of the Virginian Colony were: Delaware returning to England in 1611, Sir Thomas Gates was sent out as deputy-governor; in 1612, the third charter of the London Company was issued, and the Bermudas were formally included within their possessions. In 1613 Samuel Argall, under commission from the governor of Virginia, dislodged the French from their settlement of S. Saviour at Mount Desert in Maine, and razed Port Royal; he also claimed to have received the submission of the Dutch on the Hudson. In 1614 Sir Thomas Dale became deputy-governor; in 1615 private property was formally and fully introduced; in 1617-18 the much-abused Argall governed the settlement and tided it over a very difficult time; in 1619, while the population was still only 600, with 300 cattle, negro slaves began to be imported, and Sir George Yeardley becoming governor-general, the real life of the Virginian State begins. The first general assembly of the colony was held the same year; in 1620 the emigrants were increased to more than 2,000; wives were sold to the settlers for from 100 to 150 pounds of tobacco apiece, and free trade with the home country was established. Meantime, in 1617, had taken place Raleigh's last deplorable attempts in the discovery of Guiana, which led to his execution—the only English attempt of note in South America in this period. On previous failures, *cf.* Vol. III., p. 691, *seq.*

A Failure
in Maine.

not been altogether idle. Directly they had received their charter in 1606 they had despatched two explorers to the more northerly region granted to them, and, in 1607 George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert carried 123 emigrants from Plymouth to the coast of Maine. They built Fort St. George on the island of Monhegan, at the mouth of the Kennebec; but the cold of the winter, the suspicious attitude of the natives, the burning of the storehouse, the deaths of George Popham in the settlement and of Chief Justice Popham in England, who together had been the main supporters of the enterprise, "froze all their former hopes to death," and, "coining many excuses," they returned to England in 1608, as the French expedition which built Quebec was crossing to the St. Lawrence.

Nothing more was done worth mention till John Smith, in working out his belief of England's true mission—in Western planting—visited, in 1614, the coast of what he named New England, explored every inlet from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and sketched a map of this shore-line. Next year the saviour of Virginia tried to start a second English colony, in the land of the Plymouth Company, with sixteen men. Storms baulked the venture; but Smith, with a map and a written description of New England, visited the merchants and gentry of the Western Counties till his unconquerable enthusiasm roused his countrymen to fresh action.¹ He was made admiral of the projected Northern Colony for life; a new charter was obtained in 1618, and in 1620 the king, incorporating the reorganised company as the Council of Plymouth for New England, granted them a territory from the present Philadelphia to the latitude of Newfoundland, extending over much more than a million of square miles.

The
Pilgrim
Fathers.

But the first permanent settlement in the country of the Northern Colony was made by English Separatists from Holland, who had left England in 1607-8 rather than conform; and, thus harried out of the land, had settled at Leyden in 1609, under their minister, John Robinson (p. 53). They had several times

¹ Smith no doubt had his faults, and was somewhat overbearing and egotistical, but I cannot think that Mr. Brown ("Genesis of the United States") has proved his charges of imposture, slander and tyranny repeated from Smith's old rivals and enemies. But Smith's story of adventure in Eastern Europe (p. 78) is very questionable.

1642]

attempted to secure a patent from the London Company of South Virginia, and in 1619 had gained it; but they could not win a supplementary promise of toleration from the king; Lord Bacon's opposition had been fatal;¹ and, ceasing to "depend too much" on the Virginia Company, they formed a partnership with men of business in London, who hoped that the new venture might develop the fisheries of the New World, and provided two ships to carry them to the country on the Hudson, and plant there a new commonwealth.

Twice turned back by stress of weather, the Pilgrims finally

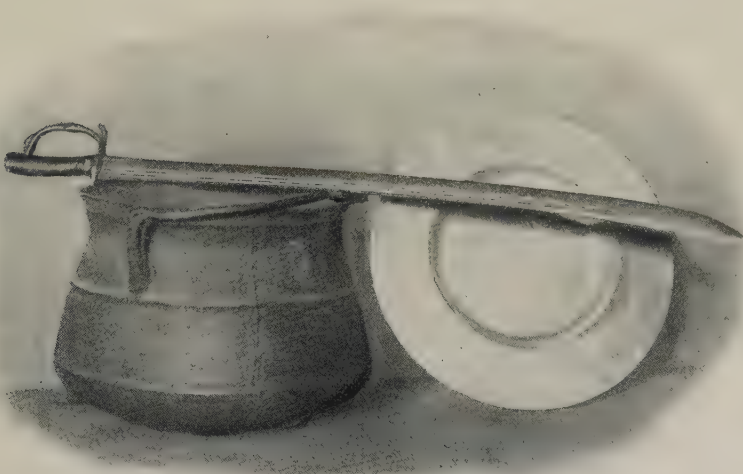


Photo: L. B. Howard, Brocton, Mass.

RELICS OF MILES STANDISH.

left Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, September 6, 1620, sighted Cape Cod on November 9th, and at first anchored off the point. They at once proceeded to sign a contract of government, as being beyond the limits of the London or Virginia Colony, and elected John Carver their governor; thence beating up the coast and exploring it in various places, they finally, on the 11th December, 1620, decided to settle at Plymouth, as they called the harbour at the extreme western end of the great bay within Cape Cod. Here the nineteen families of the emigrants (comprising 102 persons) portioned out their land; here they struggled

¹ For the discipline of the Church in the Colonies, he had said, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England.

against the Indians, and the winter, and the English monopolists, who resented their settlement as an unlicensed intrusion, till in 1627 the colony was firmly settled.

The names of their leaders are famous—Standish the general, Carver and Bradford the first governors, Winslow, and Robinson, who never lived to cross the ocean and see the State he had done so much to found—"yea, the memory of this plantation shall never die"; but the New England enterprise was, after all, second to the Virginian.

In so great and difficult a task as England's Western planting, the first permanent success must claim a greater attention than any other; the Puritan settlement of the north hardly justified, as time went on, its exclusive pretensions to be the chosen home of liberty and nobility of mind¹; the real importance of the Plymouth Colony lay in its being the nucleus of the organisation of the United States.

Northern
Settle-
ments.

While the emigrants of the *Mayflower* were founding their new home, named after the colony whose land they were appropriating, other more worldly adventurers were intruding, with equal assurance, upon other parts of the vast territory locked up by the charter of 1620, which the monopolists were from the first unable to secure.

In 1621 Sir William Alexander obtained from the Crown a patent for the land of Acadia, under the title of Nova Scotia; in the same year John Mason was granted the country between Salem river and the Merrimac, and named it Mariana; in 1622 the same proprietary, with the help and partnership of Ferdinando Gorges, acquired the tract first called Laconia, afterwards Maine, between the Merrimac and the Kennebec. Meanwhile, settlements were actually made on the sites of the present Dover and Portsmouth: in 1624 another Puritan planting was made at Cape Ann; in 1625 Captain Wollaston settled at Mount Wollaston, near the later Boston.

The feeble attempt of the monopolists of the Plymouth Company in 1623 to assert their exclusive right was a *fiasco*. They sent out Francis West as Admiral of New England, Robert Gorges as Governor-General, and William Morrell as Superintendent of Churches: but the unlicensed fishermen laughed

¹ So much the reverse did it appear to many, as to cause Sydney Smith's gibe at the cargo of "verjuice and vinegar" carried over by the *Mayflower*.

at their attempts to shut up the ocean, and in 1627 the Puritans of Plymouth managed to buy over completely the rights of the London merchants in whose name their charter had been issued.

In 1629 came the formal establishment of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay: the Plymouth settlement had just been extended to Salem, and the charter appointing the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay in New England was issued by the Crown direct to the company, now much enlarged, which had settled at Salem; on the completion of the arrangements of government, John Winthrop sailed as governor in 1630.

Massachusetts.

The progress of New England towards a settled and political state was now rapid. In 1629, Mason and Gorges deciding to dissolve their connection, new grants were made—to Mason of the country afterwards called New Hampshire, to Gorges of the region between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, then named New Somersetshire. In 1630 the third and last patent of the Plymouth Colony was issued, authorising the emigrants to “take order” for government, and for distributing the lands assigned by the patent. More interesting by far, Boston was founded in the same year.

Growth of New England.

The colony of Connecticut followed. As early as 1614 this coast had been carefully explored by the Dutch, who had laid the foundations of a small settlement; but though the Council of Plymouth had granted part of the same¹ to the Earl of Warwick in 1630, it was not till 1633, after a conference between Plymouth and Boston on the matter, that any settlement was attempted in the Connecticut Valley. As the Massachusetts Company fought shy of the enterprise, a party was sent from Plymouth which defied the Dutch interdict, and settled in the disputed region.

Connecticut

In 1635–36 emigrants from Massachusetts founded Saybrook and Hartford in the new colony; and this movement led the way to the last of the additions to the New England settlements in this time—by the foundation of Rhode Island Colony in 1638. At the end of this period (1643) the federation of the United Colonies of New England was created by the alliance of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay,

Rhode Island.

¹ One hundred and twenty miles S.E. from the Narragansett. This grant Warwick in 1631 transferred to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brook, John Hampden and others.

Maryland. for mutual defence. On the southern, or Virginian side of this great colonising movement, the settlement of Maryland by Lord Baltimore in 1632-34 was almost the only addition of a fresh unit to the group of little states now beginning to fringe the eastern coast of North America. There is only one other similar fact to be noticed; and that is the grant of New Albion, including New Jersey, to Sir Edward Plowden in 1636.

**The North-
West
Passage** But the greatest achievements in English discovery pure and simple in this period were through the voyages of Henry Hudson and William Baffin, who in pursuing the dream of the North-West Passage, revealed the far north-east of the American Continent at points where unfortunate accident or curious blindness had closed the way of Frobisher and of Davis.

Our miserably insufficient knowledge of Hudson's life only discovers him clearly in 1607, when, in search of the nearer passage to China, he is found trying the polar route, as Robert Thorne had suggested eighty years before—but with a crew of “ten men and a boy.” Pushing along from Greenland to Spitzbergen, he reached lat. 80°, and discovered the island of Jan Mayen, which he named “Hudson's Touches.” Turned back by the ice, he essayed the North-East passage in 1608, keeping to a lower latitude, but he failed to get east of Nova Zembla.

**The
Hudson
River.**

In 1609 he again tried the “way round Asia,” but being once more brought to a standstill he resolved to try the North-West passage instead. Bearing away for Newfoundland in the Dutch service, he first coasted down as far as the Chesapeake, and on his way entered “his own river”—the Hudson—perhaps with something of the wild idea, then popular both in England and in Germany, that the short northern routes to Cathay would be found most practicable by following up the courses of Siberian and American rivers. Finally, in 1610, he returned to the charge on the far north-west, passing the coast of Labrador, and entered Hudson's Bay through Hudson's Strait—the opening to the West, which Frobisher had sighted but not entered, through fear of losing touch with the gold ore of Meta Incognita. In his little ship, manned by only three-and-twenty men, he pushed forward with the hope that the passage was found at last; and

when he saw that the open water lay south instead of west, he explored this greatest of American bays and resolved to winter in the southern part of it. But the scarcity of provisions produced greater and greater murmuring among his men; Hudson himself became the scapegoat for every hardship and every cause of offence; and while returning into the Atlantic through "his own strait," he was seized, with eight who stood faithfully by him, and turned adrift in an open boat to perish, as is always supposed, in the bay that bears his name (June 23, 1611).

Hudson's
Death.

The history of exploration has no tragedy more frightful, and



SCENE ON THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE TO THE INDIES IN 1594.

(J. H. van Linschoten, "Twee Journalen van Twee Verscheedene Voyagien," 1595.)

few more mysterious, than the fate of Henry Hudson. He was never heard of again in life, but his name must always remain among the worthiest of English heroes, among those truly memorable men who have increased, in a marked degree, the sum of our knowledge, the extent of our horizon. A great tract of the natural world, of the earth's surface, was opened up by him; it has not been given to many men to have so great a portion of the globe named after them; scarcely any, except Amerigo Vespucci, have stamped their name on so many thousands of square miles; no man better expressed in action the spirit of the Elizabethan makers of Greater England.

Baffin and
Arctic Ex-
ploration.

William Baffin first appears in 1612. In that year Hall, Thomas Button, and himself sailed on the old quest of North-West discovery; and the finding and naming of New South Wales, New North Wales, and Button's Bay, was the result of this voyage. Next year (1613) he was off the coast of Spitzbergen, where he noticed and recorded the extraordinary refraction of the atmosphere. Again, in 1615, he became pilot and partner with Robert Bylot on another voyage of Arctic discovery; and in 1616, in company with the same, discovered Wolstenholme's Sound, Lancaster Sound, and Baffin's Bay (in lat. 78° N.), which he mapped and described with a care and accuracy that has won the admiration of explorers of our own time.

His later appearance (as in 1618) in the Indian Ocean,¹ and his death near Ormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1622, have been already spoken of (p. 73); the only attempt worth notice, in this period, to follow up his line of Arctic exploration, was made by Fox and James in 1631. Fox vainly explored the whole west coast of Hudson's Bay from 65° to 55° in search of "the passage," but, as with so many others, some incidental success consoled him for his failure in his main purpose. He discovered Fox's Channel between Baffin Land, on the west of Baffin's Bay, and the North-East or "Melville" peninsula of what we call the North-West territory; finally he reached Cape Peregrine. James meantime explored and wintered in the extreme southern bend of Hudson's Bay, which now bears his name (James Bay).

The English settlements in Newfoundland in 1610 and 1621, and the temporary English conquest of Quebec in 1629, might have been expected to keep alive our interest in North-West and Arctic enterprise; but in spite of discoveries such as Hudson's, the field seemed so forbidding and so profitless, that as the seventeenth century went on, there was less and less of systematic effort in this direction. Except in the furthest northern belt of Arctic discovery, to north-east and north-west alike, there are few places even now included on our maps that were not visited and named before the great Civil War began in England, or the Peace of Westphalia was signed on the Continent.

¹ Probably with the ultimate hope of discovering one of the Arctic passages from the side of Further Asia (China and Japan).

At the end of the reign of Elizabeth, a period of architectural anarchy preceded the sporadic architectural revival of the reign of James I. Time has shed a softening influence on the worst of the buildings of this anarchical period, and they wear their years so kindly that few are inclined to quarrel with the inconsistencies of their style. Hatfield, Holland House, and Bolsover are among the most famous examples of what might properly be called decadent Elizabethan, and these, as a matter of fact, were all built, or mainly built, in the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century. But here, again, the sequence in point of date is not matched by any like order in point of development. Westwood and Burleigh, of the middle Elizabethan period, are quite corrupt, while Temple Newsam, built in 1612, and Audley End, commenced in 1616, are both singularly free from Italian feeling, and may be thought to show signs of a return to Gothic sentiment. But the larger class, Hatfield and the rest, while they are not Gothic, are by no means Renaissance.

REGINALD
HUGHES.
Architecture
and Art:
The Change
in Style.

"It is only here and there" (says Mr. Fergusson) "that we are reminded by a misshapen pilaster or ill-designed arcade, of a foreign influence being at work; and these are so intermingled with mullioned windows and pointed gables that the buildings might with equal propriety be called Gothic, the fact being that there is no term really applicable to them but the very horrid, though very characteristic, name of Jacobean. As designs, there is really nothing to admire in them. They miss equally the thoughtful propriety of the Gothic and the simple purity of the Classic styles, with no pretensions to the elegance of either. All they can claim is a certain amount of picturesque appropriateness; but the former quality is far more due to the centuries that have passed away since they were erected, than to any skill or taste on the part of the original designer." ("History of the Modern Styles of Architecture," ii. 16.)

The fact is undeniable, and no less unfortunate because under the later Tudors and the first Stuart the greatest architectural activity prevailed. Although no great church or great palace was then built, a goodly number of grammar schools and colleges, and a vast array of mansions, were erected out of the confiscated properties of the religious orders. Besides the change of style, this period witnessed another great—perhaps a far greater and more important—change: the transition from the medieval to the modern conception of the architect's function.



HATHFIELD HOUSE.



TEMPLE NEWSAM.

**The
Personal
Element.**

As it has been admirably put, "Architecture ceased to be a natural form of expression or the occupation of cultivated intellects, and passed into being merely the stock in-trade of professional experts." Up to this time one is struck with the complete self-effacement of the architect. In the Middle Ages one has to deal with the era of this or that style. Under the Stuarts one has to deal with the era of this or that architect. From the middle of the reign of James to the outbreak of the Civil Wars it is the era of Inigo Jones; later, it is that of Christopher Wren.

**A Gothic
Revival.**

Before, however, the influence of Jones became universally predominant, and even while it was in the act of becoming so, a last effort to revive a Gothic style seems to have been made. At and near Oxford, especially, a certain success attended these efforts, with the result that, just as at Cambridge we have perhaps the best specimens of the earliest Renaissance building, at Oxford we have the best specimens of the latest Gothic. At the younger university we have the gates of Caius; then, after half a century or so, Nevill's Court in Trinity College, and the west front of the chapel of Peterhouse; and then, dating from the outbreak of the Civil War, the court of Clare. At Oxford we have portions of the schools—and especially the vaulted room or passage called the Pigmarket—and the chapels of Lincoln and Wadham College, of about the same date as Nevill's Court; and later, of about the same date as Clare at Cambridge, the incomparable garden front of St. John's, and the staircase leading to the hall of Christ Church. The work at St. John's and at Christ Church have both been attributed to Inigo Jones—on what we cannot but think insufficient evidence; but if they were his, they afford conclusive proof, not only of his genius, but of his versatility.

**Palladian
Influence.**

But, no doubt, the most characteristic works of the period exhibit the direct influence of Palladio. Of these the famous portal of the Bodleian quadrangle at Oxford deserves the first place. Palladio, who set out to be the prophet of Vitruvius, died at Vicenza in 1580. He had a very definite set of rules, particularly as regards the use of the various orders. The Tuscan, which the patriotism of Vitruvius had discovered to be an order (it was probably nothing but rude Doric), was always to be placed undermost as being "the most proper to sustain the

weight and to give the whole edifice the appearance of solidity." Above this the Doric was to come, and then, atop of the Doric, the Ionic, and then the Corinthian, and the Composite above all. And this portal appears to have been built by the architect, Thomas Holte, for the express purpose of exhibiting these rules



Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.

THE HALL STAIRCASE, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

at work. There, sure enough, the orders are piled one 'over another, and the result is a memorable instance of the effects of zeal working not according to knowledge.

One seems to touch firmer ground in the actual work of **Inigo Jones** the famous architect Inigo Jones. His career commences comparatively early in the reign of James; but at first his work was rather that of a stage manager than that of an architect (p. 222).

Born in 1573, he worked continuously from his mature manhood to his death in 1652. But his last years fell on troublous times, when his employment must have been slight and precarious.

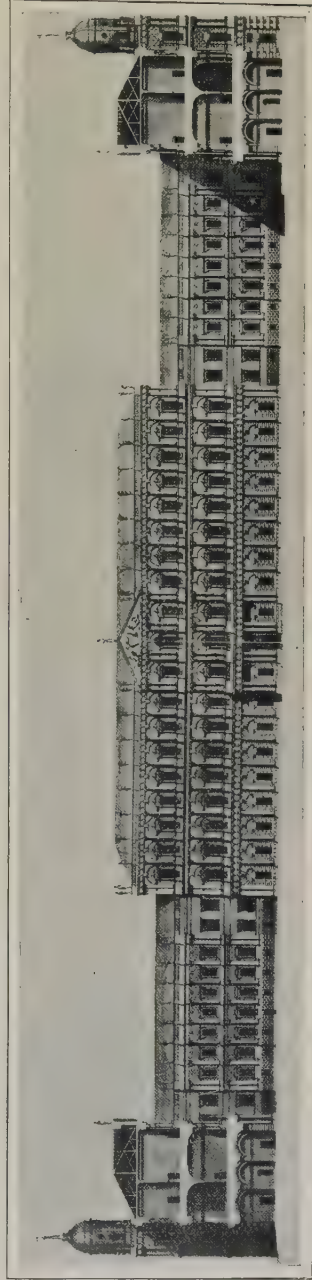


Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.

PORTAL OF THE BODLEIAN, BY THOMAS HOLTE.

His parents seem to have been of Welsh origin, for Inigo, like Iago, is a name common in Wales. He was apprenticed to a joiner, but somehow managed to attract the attention of the third Earl of Pembroke, who sent him to Italy to study. There he fell under the influence of the work of Palladio, with the fame of whose palaces at Vicenza and Venice all Italy was

ringing. Returning to England, he received an appointment as surveyor to the ill-fated Henry Prince of Wales. After a second journey on the Continent, he took up the appointment of Surveyor-General to the King, and thenceforth to the time of his death poured forth an inexhaustible supply of architectural designs. The most famous of these—that for a palace at Whitehall—was produced about 1621, and would, if it had been carried out, have produced the grandest Palladian edifice that Europe could show. The river front was to be 874 feet long. The façades facing Charing Cross and Westminster were to be 1,152 feet from angle to angle. The height was to be 100 feet, and it was to contain five quadrangles and one circular court, to be adorned with two ranges of caryatid figures, and generally it was to possess the most sumptuous detail. Ten years later he built the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and a portico to the metropolitan cathedral, which has perished. The church has been much rebuilt, and its side porches have been removed, so that we can form but a poor idea of its original appearance; but the story that the Duke of Bedford asked for a barn, and that the architect promised him the handsomest barn in Europe, does not seem on the face of it improbable. It was



DESIGN FOR THE FRONT OF THE INNER COURT OF WHITEHALL PALACE.

(From Kent's engraving of Inigo Jones's plan at Sir John Soane's Museum.)

at any rate the first important Protestant church that was built in Europe; and heavy and plain as it is and must always have been, it does not lack dignity, and the broad eaves and the deep recessed portico are imposing, even after the rebuildings and alterations of two centuries and a half. The water-gate of York House, which now stands in a sort of hole or pit between the Thames Embankment and

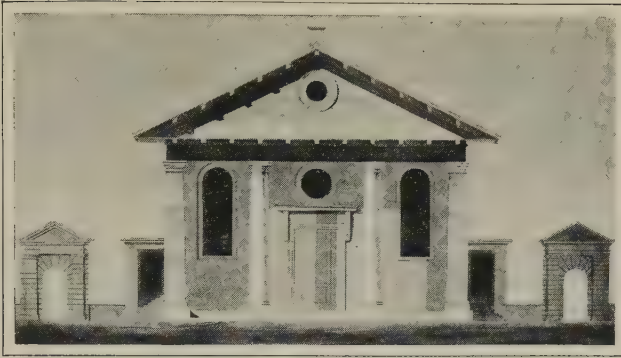


DESIGN FOR THE INNER COURT OF WHITEHALL PALACE.

(*Sir John Soane's Museum.*)

Buckingham Street, was also his design, though probably, like Ashburnham House (which has a famous and often-painted staircase), it was carried out by another. Various gateways, like that of the Botanical Gardens at Oxford and that at Holland House, are attributed to him, as well as the porch of St. Mary's, Oxford (p. 37). At Wilton he built an admirable little bridge adorned with Ionic pilasters, and he certainly executed or designed works at Cobham and Greenwich, and probably at Coleshill and Brympton. His design for Chiswick is avowedly

1642]



ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING OF ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN,
BEFORE ALTERATIONS. (*Sir John Soane's Museum.*)

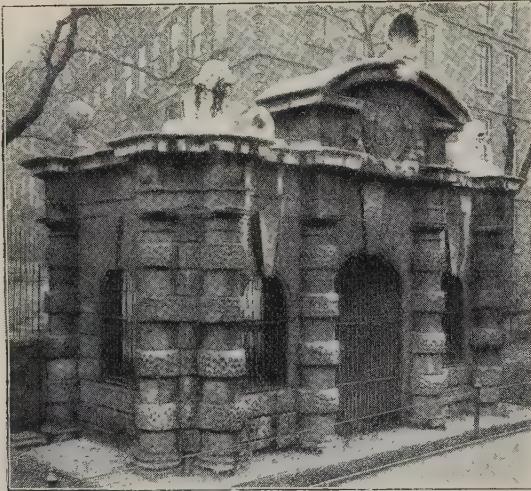
a copy, though not a servile one, of the Villa Rotonda at Vicenza. But Palladio's structure, with its surrounding porticoes, has a shadiness and airiness delightful in the Italian climate, which is wholly missing at Chiswick, where the mass is relieved by only one entering colonnade. The English dome, however, is unmistakably more graceful than the Italian, and the interior has a certain spacious beauty which is all its own. It is perhaps



BRIDGE AT WILTON DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES.

a little difficult to apportion the merit between the original and the copy, but so far as it set the fashion for classical porticoes, henceforth applied to great mansions without any regard to fitness, its influence has been unfortunate. It is uncertain whether Inigo Jones was the builder of the garden front of St. John's, but the style is of a remarkable purity, and one must step inside the arch to find the full brand of the Renaissance. So, too, of the stairway at Christ Church, which, though poor as possible in detail, in plan and outline recalls the

masterpieces of the last great Gothic builders, the creators of the Royal Chapels at Westminster, Cambridge, and Windsor. But at heart he was not in sympathy with the Gothic style, and desired to go down to posterity as a Palladian and a classicist. By



THE WATER GATE OF YORK HOUSE.

his will he directed that reliefs of his portico to St. Paul's Cathedral and of his church at Covent Garden should be placed on his monument. A great and original talent was beyond question his. But, perhaps, after all, his truest title to immortality is that he opened the doors through which Wren came in.

Painting.

Apart from the school of miniature, the rise of which we have already noticed, and which continued in spite of royal indifference, English art made but little progress in the reign of James. The king's marriage with a foreign princess may possibly have had some influence in favour of foreign, as opposed to native talent, and certainly most of the works painted in England in this reign were by other than English hands. Perhaps Paul

Van Somer of Antwerp was the most famous foreigner regularly established in England under James. He seems to have enjoyed the royal favour, as well as that of the nobility, for he painted the king at Windsor and at Hampton Court, and Anne of Denmark, Lord Arundel, Lord Chancellor Bacon, and the Earl of Devonshire. He died in 1621, and was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. A more prolific and longer-lived artist was Cornelis Janssens, or Cornelius Johnson, as he frequently appears in English contemporary documents. He was a native of Amsterdam, and painted in a purely Dutch manner. He settled permanently in England, living in Blackfriars. His sister married here, and her son, Theodore Russell, was the pupil and godson of Cornelius, of whose works he made copies. The elder Daniel Mytens, of the Hague, was another fashionable painter. He was some connection of Van Somer, and probably came over in the hope of succeeding to his kinsman's position at the Court. He was not, however, appointed painter to the king until the reign of Charles. He remained very popular until the arrival of Vandyck.

Sculpture, the Cinderella of the arts in England, was, however, represented in James's reign by the appropriately named family of Stone. The founder of the family, Nicholas, was a Devonshire man, originally a mason working at the king's chapel in Edinburgh and at the building of the banqueting house, and he, or one of his sons, built the two porches at Oxford said to have been designed by Jones. He, however, did much independent work, and erected a good many sepulchral monuments. The taste for these was a fashion of the times, as we may judge from such examples as the tombs of Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, though their importance is chiefly due to a certain grandiose architectural character. They were much more costly than statues either of kings or gods—at least if we may trust Nicholas Stone's diary. Thus he executed for £25 apiece statues of Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII. for the old Exchange in London. He also made for "Mr. Paston, of Oxnett, in Norfolk, one statue of Venus and Cupid, and had £30 for it, and one statue of Jupiter, £25; of the three-headed dog Cerberus with a pedestal, £14; and Seres and Hercules and Mercury, £50"; while for "the tomb for my Lady Catherine Paston" he had £200, and for that of the Countess of Buckingham

Sculpture.

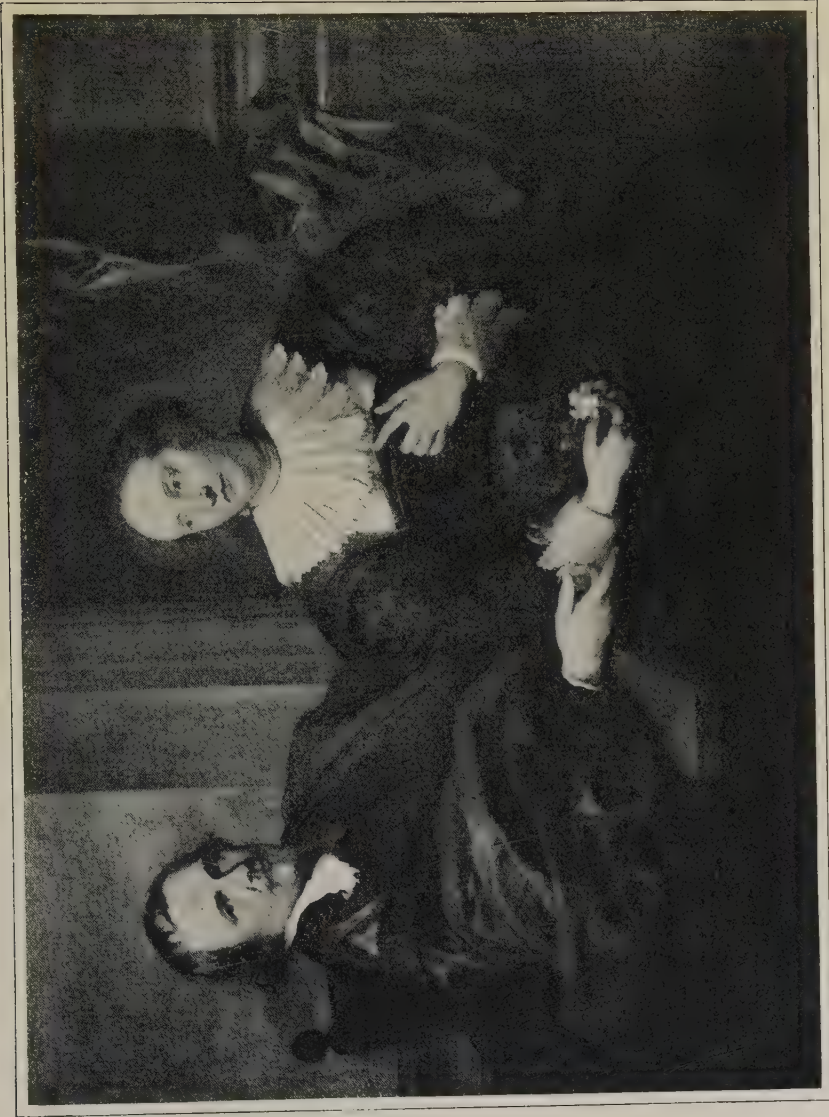
£500. His best bargain was with "Luce, Countess of Bedford, for one fair and stately tomb of touchstone and white marble,"



Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

for which he was to have £1,020 with this proviso, "and my lady to stand all charges for carriage and iron and setting up."



DANIEL MYTENS AND HIS WIFE.

(From the picture by *Vandyck*, by permission of his Grace the Duke of Bedford.)

Early Art
Collections.

King James himself seems to have had no feeling for the arts; nevertheless, such a feeling certainly spread among the higher nobility at this date. Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the first great English virtuoso, formed his famous gallery in this reign. He employed a clergyman, William Petty, the founder of the fortunes of the house of Lansdowne, to procure statues, inscriptions, gems, drawings, and pictures. The earl began to collect about 1615, and went on collecting until the beginning of the Civil War. Prince Henry, who was himself something of an artist, and had for a master a Frenchman named De Caux, was also a collector, particularly of bronzes, and his collection formed the basis of that of his brother. The prince's most famous purchase was the entire series of medals belonging to one Abraham Gorlée, the author of the "*Dactylotheca*," which is said to have numbered twelve hundred pieces. In the Vanderdoort catalogue of Charles I.'s treasures, mention is made of numerous statues, pictures, and bronzes which came from Prince Henry; and we know that he employed Sir Edward Conway to purchase for him, as well as to negotiate with Mirevelt for a visit to England. The invitation was subsequently repeated by his brother, but without success. The manufacture of tapestry, too, which had been brought into this country by a Warwickshire gentleman named Sheldon, in the reign of Henry VIII., also now received a considerable impetus, a factory having been built at Mortlake by Sir Francis Crane, to which James himself is said to have contributed. It must have been in full working order in his reign and producing work of merit, for in the first year of his reign, Charles, who was a good judge of such things, gave an acknowledgment for £6,000 for three suits of gold tapestry, and granted an annuity for keeping up the works.

James I.'s
Coins.

The union of the two crowns of England and Scotland on the head of James, which took place in 1603, is commemorated in various ways upon his money. The first coinage (of the year of his accession) has the Scotch title inserted in the legend; and in lieu of the French arms in the first and fourth quarters, and those of England in the second and third, the shield bears, first and fourth, those of England and France quarterly, second Scotland, and third Ireland. In the second year of his reign there was a change in his title, and thereafter he appears on his coins as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. The first



FARTHING OF JAMES I.

coinage resembled that of the later years of Elizabeth — consisting, in gold, of sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, and half-crowns; and in silver, of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, half-groats, pennies, and half-pennies. The second coinage of gold, with the MAG. BRI. or BRIT. substituted for ANG. SCO., comprised the unite of twenty shillings, the double-crown of ten, the Britain crown of five, the Thistle crown of four shillings, and the half-crown of two shillings and sixpence. To these were added rose ryals at thirty shillings, spur ryals at fifteen, and angels at ten, these last being of "angel" fineness as distinguished from "crown" fineness. In 1611 the value of the gold coins was raised ten per cent.; but the amounts proving awkward for merchants, a proclamation for a fourth coinage was issued in 1619. The new pieces were to be of the proclamation value of the earlier issues of the reign, and to prevent confusion with the intermediate coinages they were made different in type, a laurel wreath being substituted for the crown on James's head. Another innovation was the Scottish six-pound gold piece, made current for ten shillings. The French crown "of the Sun," though not legitimatised, was a favourite coin in England, and passed in this reign for about seven shillings. The laurelled coins, besides their proper titles of unites, double crowns, and Britain crowns, were popularly known as laurels, half-laurels, and so on, and also as broad pieces. The silver coins did



ANGEL OF JAMES I



SPUR RYAL OF JAMES I.

not vary much, and the fixing of their dates is difficult, the form and decoration of the harp being almost the only guide. Late in the reign, from 1621 onwards, the dearth of silver was relieved by the working of the Welsh mines, the use

of the native metal being indicated on the coins by the prince's ostrich plumes over the shield.

Token
Coins.

We have seen, in much earlier reigns, how the need for small change had led to the quartering of pennies, and similar practices. The reduced size of the new silver, owing to the enhanced cost of that metal, made against any renewal of the practice; but the cessation of the coining of silver farthings aggravated the need of some medium for small transactions, and gave an immense impetus to the use of tokens. Farthing tokens in lead, tin, copper, and even leather, had been allowed to pass in Elizabeth's reign. The famine in small currency continued, perhaps increased, in the reign of her successor. To remedy this growing

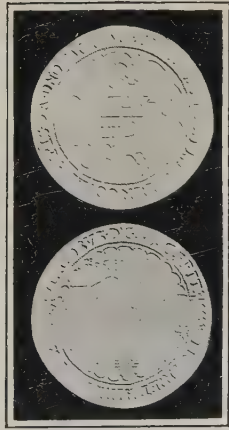


UNITE OF JAMES I.

evil, James granted a patent in 1613 to Lord Harrington to "make such a competent quantity of farthing tokens of copper as might be conveniently issued to his Majesty's subjects within the realms of England and Ireland and the dominion of Wales." The king, however, specially declared that he did not make them moneys, nor "force his subjects to receive them in payments, otherwise than with their own good liking." They were viewed with some distrust; and on the death of Lord Harrington and of his son they became almost unmarketable, so that in 1614 the king was forced to issue a second proclamation confirming the patent to Lady Harrington and her assigns. How long she continued to enjoy it is uncertain; but later it passed to the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton; and subsequently two London goldsmiths, Woodward and Garrett, were appointed, by a fresh patent, makers of the king's tokens.

Charles I.'s
Coins.

The coinage of the less troubled portion of the reign of Charles I. is distinguished by a considerable improvement in workmanship, and by the abolition, in the ninth year of his reign,



i

h

g

COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.
(Reduced to about three-fifths the size of the originals.)

of the double standard of crown and angel gold. Up to the year 1534 gold coin, of the same denominations as in the reign of his father, with the exception of the thistle crown, were issued. Much the same is to be said of the silver coinage, the old de-

nominations being at first adhered to, the groats, threepences, and halfpence being later additions. The improvement in the coinage was probably mainly due to Nicholas Briot, a native of Lorraine, formerly graver-general to the King of France, who emigrated to England



ANGEL OF CHARLES I.

about 1628, and was appointed resident manager of the mint by Charles I. in the following year. But some of the earlier coins are very spirited, if somewhat less neat, particularly the crowns, on which the king is represented on a slightly foreshortened horse with a long mane extending in front of his chest. The types of Charles I.'s coinage are exceedingly numerous, as besides the Tower and Aberystwith mints, coins were struck at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Weymouth, Worcester, York, and probably in many other places—in districts where, for the moment, the royal armies were predominant. The greater part of these belong, however, to the period of the troubles, as the name of siege pieces, by which they are frequently designated, though without strict accuracy, sufficiently indicates.

Local
Mintages.

Tokens
under
Charles I.

Both the regular and irregular copper tokens continued to be current, although a proclamation was directed against their use, "except such as had been



UNITE OF CHARLES I.

made by authority of letters patent of the late king, or should be made under a new patent." A new patent was, in fact, granted to the Duchess of Richmond and Sir Francis Crane, for a term of seventeen years, and at a rent to the Crown of a hundred marks. The coins issued under it resembled the patent farthings of James, and were largely counterfeited, and, in consequence, there was an order for a fresh issue,

1642]

under a patent made out in 1636. These were ordered to be made "with such a distinction of brass as would prevent the people from being any longer deceived." This was effected by letting into the centre of the coin a small piece of the composite metal.

Charles I. was the first English king whose patronage of art was at once ardent, intelligent, and sympathetic. The pictures in the royal cabinets of Henry VII., Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth had been valued simply as likenesses or as curios. But there is a concurrence of testimony that the king possessed all the gifts of a fine connoisseur. He commenced to add to the Crown gallery almost from the day of his accession. He got together the old treasures of his ancestors, and the collections of his brother. He sent commissioners to France and Italy, of whom Endymion Porter was the most successful, and his ambassadors were kept constantly on the look-out, as the presentation of a masterpiece was a sure road to the royal favour. The courtiers, too, were well aware of the king's amiable weakness; indeed, it was known throughout Europe, and so notorious that, on the birth of the Princess Elizabeth, the States of Holland sent, with their congratulations, various articles of bric-à-brac and four rare pieces of Tintoret and Titian. He bought the entire cabinet of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua; he invited foreign masters to his Court, and he dispatched at least one artist to make copies in Madrid. This artist, whose name is variously given as "Stone" or "Cross," seems, moreover, to have been an Englishman. The king's interest in his collection was always wonderfully keen, and Vanderdoort, who had passed, on Prince Henry's death, into the service of his brother, apparently found him an exceedingly exigent master, for the unfortunate man, having lost or mislaid a miniature (by Gibson the dwarf) of the parable of the lost sheep, was induced, by fear of the royal displeasure, to commit suicide. The splendid George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, emulated the artistic taste of his royal master, and purchased the magnificent collection made by Rubens, for his own gallery. These pictures, among which nineteen Titians were included, were sent over to York House about the year 1626.

Charles I.
as a
Patron
of Art.

The presence of so many works of art in this country, and the high favour with which artists were received, undoubtedly

Foreign
Artists in
England.

stirred the emulation of a section, at least, of the English people. Rubens, who designed the ceiling at Whitehall, was knighted in 1630, and though his stay in England was short, he was succeeded by his pupil, Vandyck, who, of all the foreigners resident here, most nearly can be called an English artist. He settled in Blackfriars, which, from its contiguity to the palace of Bridewell, was a favourite quarter for those who enjoyed the king's favour. In 1632 he was knighted, and in 1633 received by patent his office of painter to his Majesty. His subsequent marriage with a lady of the noble family of Ruthven further strengthened his ties with the country of his adoption. He made one or more short visits to the Continent, but in the last ten years of his life he lived in England, where he died in 1641. A crowd of artists from the Low Countries, France, and even Italy, settled here, though their stay was brief. Of these, Jan Lievens, Terburg, and Honthorst are among the greater; Poelenburg, Steenwyck, Geldorp, Gentileschi, and the sculptors Fanelli,¹ Auguier, du Val, and Hubert le Sueur are among the smaller names.

Native
Artists :
Jamesone.

But the great feature of the reign is the appearance among us of two native artists of high, if not of the very highest, talent. These were George Jamesone and William Dobson, the latter of whom was almost worthy to be the artistic ancestor of Sir Joshua and his great contemporaries. Jamesone was the son of an Aberdeen architect or builder, but he had learned under Rubens at Antwerp, and had there been a fellow-student with Vandyck. His pictures are rarely to be seen south of the Tweed, but his manner shows that he was an original as well as a competent artist. He came under Charles's notice in 1633, when he rewarded the painter for a series of imaginary portraits of the Scottish kings with a ring from his own finger.

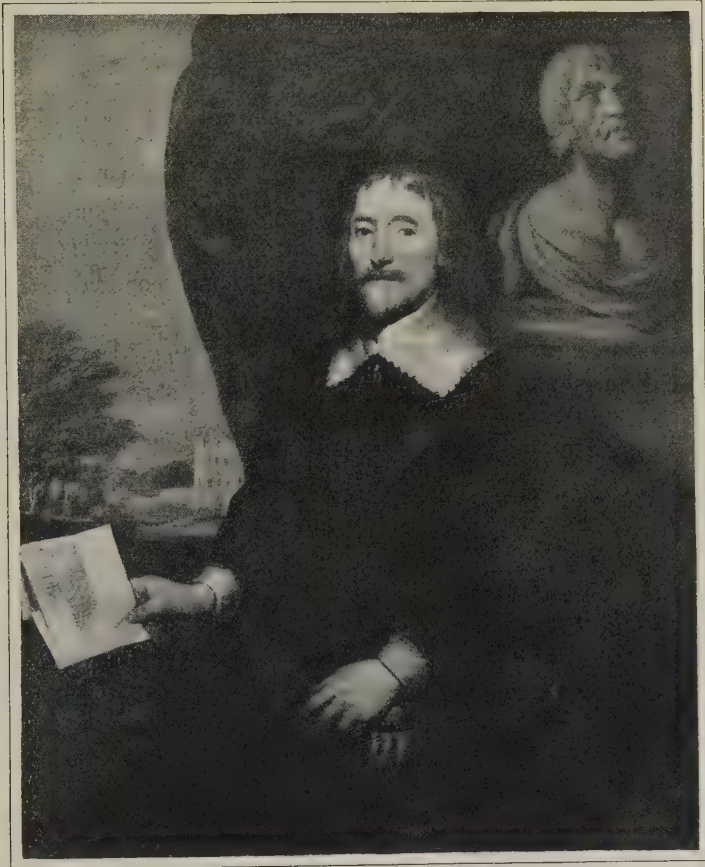
Dobson.

William Dobson, whom the king called his English Tintoret, came of a gentle though decayed family at St. Albans, and was apprenticed to Sir Robert Peake, dealer and miniaturist. He is said to have had some instruction from Van Cleyne, a decorative artist employed at the royal tapestry works at Mortlake. In the main, however, he founded himself on Vandyck, whose pictures he was set to copy for his master. The story is that Sir Antony, struck by some work of Dobson's exposed

¹ To Fanelli are attributed the figures of Charles I. and his queen which adorn the Inigo Jones Quad of St. John's, Oxford.

1642]

for sale, went to see its author, and found him at work in a garret, whence he carried him off to the Court, and presented him to Charles. So high did he stand in the king's favour that on the death of Vandyck he succeeded him as Court painter, but the wars



ENDYMION PORTER, BY DOBSON.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

rendered the appointment of little value, and he died in 1646 at the age of thirty-six. He is unquestionably a powerful portrait painter, somewhat dry, perhaps, but full of seriousness and force. His portrait of Endymion Porter, in the National Portrait Gallery, is fairly typical, though by no means one of his strongest

works. Besides portraits, Biblical subjects came from his studio; but it is as the first of the great English portraitists that he is most worthy of remembrance.

Minor
English
Artists.

These two may count as great names, but many smaller ones have come down to us. Such are Neve, Povey, Holderness, Barlow. It is true they are mostly mere names, but their number is significant, and they are English. More significant is it that the English artist Hamilton was sufficiently well known to be employed to paint birds and grapes for the Elector of Brandenburg. To be called an artist grew to be a distinction among men of family, and it is said that the king himself was among those who were proud of the title.

In the minor arts, besides the miniaturists who continued to bear the torch lighted in Elizabeth's reign, the workers in enamel found a good patron in the king, and Petitot, the great Genevese enamellist, would doubtless have founded a school here but for the outbreak of the war. But for that, England, though somewhat belated, might have had her golden age of painting, like Italy and the Low Countries.

THOMAS
WHITTAKER.
Natural
Science.

THE opening years of the seventeenth century are full of scientific activity, and are marked by two discoveries of the highest degree of importance—the discovery of logarithms by Napier, and of the circulation of the blood by Harvey. The repute into which the experimental method was now coming is marked by Bacon's proclamation of it as the new instrument that can alone subject Nature to human ends. Still, there were considerable remains of the old disrepute of scientific studies, as may be briefly shown by two quotations from historians of the period. Oldenburg, in his preface to the "Transactions of the Royal Society" for 1672, calls to mind that, as "Galilaeus and others in Italy suffered extremities for their celestial discoveries," so "here in England, Sir Walter Raleigh, when he was in the greatest lustre, was notoriously slandered to have erected a school of atheism, because he gave countenance to chemistry, to practical arts, and to curious mechanical operations, and designed to form the best of them into a college."¹

Nor was mathematical science in much better odour. It is a

¹ Whewell: "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," ii., 269.

curious fact that Hobbes never opened Euclid till he was past forty. "When he was at Oxford geometry made no part of any student's training, and was matter of concern to none except, perhaps, a small circle round Sir Henry Savile of Merton . . . It was in fear 'lest the mathematic studies should utterly sink into oblivion' that, at last, in 1619, years after Hobbes had left Oxford, Savile instituted his professorships of geometry and astronomy. Upon the foundation of these chairs, Wood relates that 'not a few of the then foolish gentry' kept back their sons from the university, not to have them 'smuttled with the black art,' most people regarding mathematics as 'spells,' and its professors as 'limbs of the devil.' In similar phrase Hobbes himself complains, as late as the middle of the century, that the universities had only just given over thinking geometry to be 'art diabolical.'" ¹

Bacon's "*Novum Organum*" was not published till 1620; but probably it was begun in 1608. The "*Advancement of Learning*" was published in 1605. These dates belong to scientific philosophy. Bacon, indeed, did not himself furnish a sufficient philosophical basis for inductive logic. His suggestions as to its procedure are, however, very remarkable. These, together with the stress he laid, not merely on experience, but on active experimentation, are, in relation to science, his most distinctive contribution to thought.

Bacon's
Logic of
Science.

Mathematical science was advanced by the algebraical works of Harriot and of Oughtred. Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) was an astronomer as well as a mathematician, and began to make telescopic observations almost simultaneously with Galileo. He made numerous observations on sun-spots, and was interested in all the dawning physical sciences—especially meteorology and optics. He was at one time Sir Walter Raleigh's mathematical tutor, and was sent out by him to Virginia as a surveyor with Sir Richard Grenville's expedition in 1585, on which he wrote a report. In his posthumous work, "*Artis Analyticæ Praxis*" (1631), a discovery of fundamental importance in the theory of equations is expounded, and a finished form given to the outlines of modern algebra. To Harriot is assigned a place in the history of modern analytical geometry, between Vieta and Descartes.

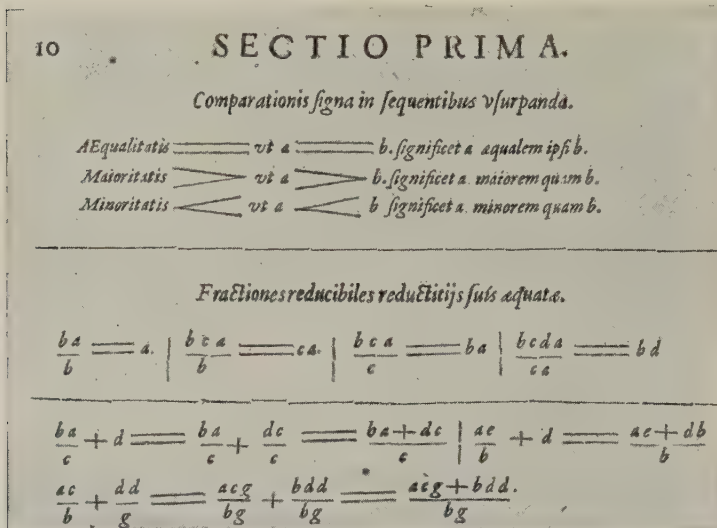
Mathematics:
Harriot.

John Napier (1550-1617), of Merchistoun, near Edinburgh,

¹ Croom Robertson: "Hobbes," p. 32.

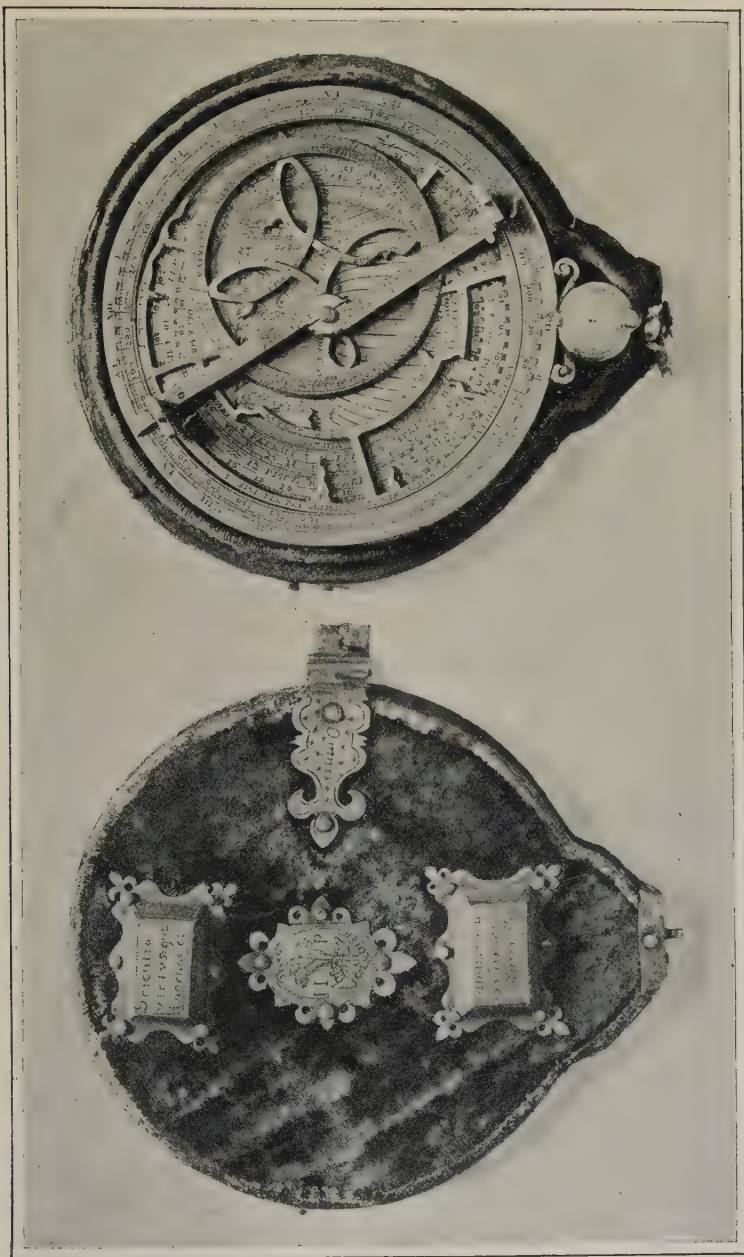
Napier.

the discoverer of logarithms, began by writing a theological treatise, which was translated into several languages. It had for title "The Plaine Discovery," and was an interpretation of the Apocalypse in the anti-Papal sense. The date of this work is 1593. In 1614 Napier published his first work on logarithms, known as the "Descriptio." There is reason to believe that he was at work on the subject twenty years before. His discovery was, in any case, the result of an investigation deliberately



PART OF A PAGE FROM HARRIOT'S "ARTIS ANALYTICÆ PRAXIS."

undertaken in order to obtain some means of abbreviating the multiplications and divisions that were found so laborious in astronomy. The work of 1614 gives the "description," but not the construction, of logarithms. Their use is explained, and a table is given, but not the method by which the canon was worked out. The principle of logarithms is explained by the correspondence of two series of numbers, one in arithmetical, the other in geometrical progression. Napier went on to explain the construction of tables in a separate work, which was posthumously published in 1619 by his son Robert. In this work, known as the "Constructio," the decimal point as we now have it was first systematically employed. Other ways of marking



AN ASTROLABE OF 1574 WHICH BELONGED TO PRINCE HENRY.

(British Museum.)

the separation became more common for a time, but in the end Napier's point was restored.

He was fortunate in having for contemporaries mathematicians who, from the very first, both understood and enthusiastically took up his invention. Edward Wright, the principal author of the method known as "Mercator's Sailing," translated the "Descriptio" from Latin into English in 1615, having been struck with the importance of logarithms for navigation. He died in 1615, before the translation could be published; but it was published posthumously by his son, Samuel Wright, in 1618. Henry Briggs (1556-1630) improved the invention so as to add immensely to its utility, and devoted the rest of his life to working it out.

Logarithms.

Napier's logarithms were not those now called Napierian—which are of special mathematical interest, though not in use for ordinary calculations—but are a related system. Briggs introduced the ordinary "decimal logarithms" that are now in use. He proposed the alteration to Napier, modified his proposal at Napier's suggestion (as he himself relates), and, in association with him, worked out the change that both finally agreed upon. His visit to Napier, of which a very interesting account is given by William Lilly, the astrologer, in his "Life and Times," was the beginning of a friendship which lasted till Napier's death. He afterwards assisted Robert Napier in the publication of the "Constructio." In 1617, after Napier's death, he published his "Logarithmorum Chilias Prima," giving the logarithms of the first thousand numbers to fourteen places of decimals. Many more tables followed from his hand. These tables of Briggs, the result of so much enthusiastic labour, are the foundation of all the present logarithmic tables.

Another famous invention of Napier's was a mechanical device for multiplying and dividing, known by the name of "Napier's Bones." This was set forth in a work called "Rabdologia" (1617). The invention consists in the use of numerating rods. Some formulæ in spherical trigonometry are still known as "Napier's rules of circular parts," and "Napier's analogies."

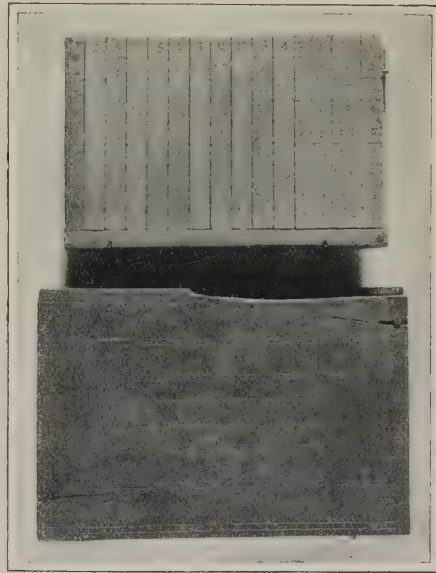
Biology has this in common with mathematics—that it is a science already founded in antiquity. As a special science it dates at least from the time of Aristotle. In one of his scientific

1642]

works, indeed, Aristotle speaks with a shade of disapproval of physicians who think it necessary to set forth their general philosophy of nature before proceeding to the things of which they have special knowledge. This may be taken to show that the departments of biology were already recognised as special sciences. And, from Aristotle's time to the modern period, many detailed advances had been made in anatomical and physiological theory. Harvey, before making his great discovery, had to master all these older acquirements. The discovery of the circulation of the blood was the result of independent experimentalising and theorising, combined with the widest knowledge of older books, and with the best teaching that could be got from anatomists of Harvey's own time. Yet the discovery itself, as has been perfectly made out, was anticipated by no one, either of the ancients or the moderns.

William Harvey (1578-1657) was born at Folkestone, Kent. He had a distinguished career as a physician. His discovery, overthrowing the traditionally accepted view, is said to have injured him for a time in his profession; but the circumstance is not certain, and has been denied. In any case, he succeeded in converting the men of his own science and of his own profession during his lifetime. This was remarked on by Hobbes as unique in the history of scientific discovery. The philosophers, Hobbes and Descartes, both very rapidly took up the new conception of the circulating mechanism. The essence of Harvey's discovery is that the blood as a whole is driven out-

Biology:
William
Harvey.



SET OF "NAPIER'S BONES."

(British Museum.)

wards from the heart as the source of its motion, and again returns to the heart. No one before had held that there was a "circulation" in this sense. Harvey not only conceived of it in this way, but gave the complete experimental proof with the exception of a single link. All that was needed to complete the proof was the demonstration of the passages (the capillaries) by which the blood flows from the last ramifications of the arteries into the veins. To discover these the microscope was necessary; and, when the microscope had been invented, Malpighi was able to observe the actual process in the lungs of a frog. This was in 1661, four years after Harvey's death.

Harvey's classical work, the "*De Motu Cordis*," in which he expounded his discovery to the world at large, was published in 1628. He had first brought forward his views in 1616, and had continued to expound them in the lectures he delivered at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where in 1615 he had been appointed Lumleian Lecturer. His other celebrated work, the "*De Generatione*," belongs to the next period. Though this work has not the importance of the "*De Motu Cordis*," it is remarkable that the doctrine of "epigenesis" expounded in it—the theory that the development of the embryo takes place by the successive addition of parts, not by the unfolding of a complete miniature present from the first—is substantially that which is now held.

The Circulation of the Blood.

The change made by Harvey in physiological theory, to be more exactly understood, must be compared with the doctrine it displaced. Aristotle's theory was that the blood is elaborated from the food by the liver; that it thence goes to the heart; and that from the heart it is distributed by the veins over the body. His successors, concluding from the appearance of the arteries after death, held that they carried air. Galen showed that they carried blood as well. The physiological conception inherited from antiquity accordingly was that there were two kinds of blood, one kind (blood mixed with air) carried by the arteries, the other by the veins. Both kinds of blood, it was supposed, are distributed slowly and irregularly over the system. The septum or partition between the right and left sides of the heart was held to be pervious. The heart, it was taught, became filled with blood during its dilatation; and the filling was due to the impulse of the blood flowing to the heart. In the early modern period Vesalius had proved anatomically that the septum is

complete, though he had not wholly given up the notion that there were pores in it. Sylvius had demonstrated the valves of the veins. Servetus (1553) and Realdus Columbus (1559) had made out the existence of the pulmonary circulation; that is, the complete passage—outflow and return—of the blood through the lungs from the right to the left side of the heart. This lesser circulation, as well as the greater, had been unknown to the

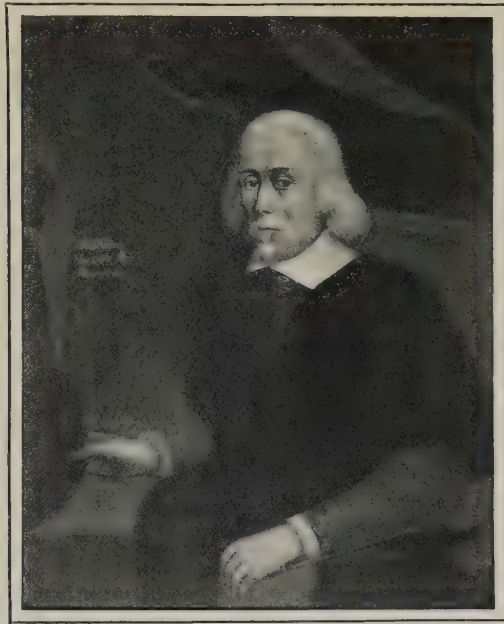


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM HARVEY.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

older physiologists. Harvey, starting from these discoveries, and adding others of his own, revolutionised the older conception in the way that has been seen. He showed that the pulse is due to the filling of the arteries with blood, and that this has its cause in the contraction of the heart. He proved definitely that there are no pores in the septum. The blood, therefore, has to make a circuit to get from one side of the heart to the other. The blood in the arteries and veins is the same. That is to say, it is the same liquid, though modified by passing through the tissues

from the arteries of the general system to the veins, and again in passing through the lungs. The action of the right and left sides of the heart is the same, consisting in muscular contraction by which the blood is propelled. The valves of the veins are so arranged as to facilitate its flow to the heart; not, as Sylvius thought, to moderate its flow from the heart. All is explained by supposing that from the left side of the heart it is driven through the general system by the arteries; that it is not all used in the tissues, but that most is collected into the veins; that by the veins it flows back constantly to the right side of the heart, whence it is driven to the lungs; that in the lungs, though brought into contact with air, it does not cease to be blood, but thence flows back to the left side of the heart, and is again driven out to the system as before. Thus the heart, not the liver, is the dynamical starting-point of the whole distribution.

With this great discovery in the most complex of the natural sciences, the scientific history of the period may be brought to a close. Outside of England the most conspicuous points in scientific advance are the foundation by Galileo of modern dynamics, henceforth central among the sciences of mechanism, and Kepler's establishment of his famous laws of the planetary motions. Both of these advances were indispensable for the subsequent working out of the Newtonian astronomy. In England experimental investigations of all kinds were meanwhile being pursued, in the spirit called Baconian, by those who afterwards founded the Royal Society. Hobbes, as part of his philosophy, was working out a system of Nature on mechanical principles. His mathematical studies, taken up late in life, were to bring him into controversy with the professional mathematicians. This, however, belongs to the next period.

ROBERT
STEELE.
Witchcraft
and
Alchemy.

WE have already seen how the fear of the supernatural fell on our Tudor rulers, though their laws against witchcraft were the mildest of the day in Europe (III., p. 446). With the accession of James a change came over the feeling of those in power. During the later years of Elizabeth tract after tract appeared, calling for severe punishment upon witches, but with no result; the English trials, up to now, had been characterised rather by folly than ferocity; the new rule was marked by ferocious folly.

1642]

For forty years Scotland had been engaged in witch-hunting, with the result that 8,000 human beings are believed to have been burnt between 1560 and 1600; and for the last ten years of the century the king had been at the head of the hunt. He had sailed in 1589 to Denmark, and, returning in May, 1590, with his Protestant queen, he had met with some slight storms. He reasoned that this could only be the work of the fiend, and the human agents were soon found. Agnes Sampson, a white witch, was tortured by a cord twisted round her temples for an hour till she confessed; John Fian suffered the sharpest tortures—his nails were torn off, and pins run into their places; his legs and hands were crushed to pieces in the king's presence, till he confessed (no one was ever sentenced till the crime had been "voluntarily" confessed) to a witch-meeting at North Berwick, when they went round the church widdershins¹ till the doors flew open and the Satanic crew entered it and held their revels there. Thirty of the accused were burnt alive on one day in 1591, and a jury which imprudently acquitted one of them was threatened by the king with severe punishment. James himself wrote a work on Demonology against Scott and Wierus, a Continental writer who had taken a fairly sensible view.



SCOLD'S BRANK, OF TYPE USED IN
BURNING WITCHES. (Norwich Museum.)

¹ Against the sun, counterclockwise; a potent charm in old folklore.



TONGUE-PIECES FOR BRANK.

(Norwich Museum.)

New Laws
against
Witchcraft.

In the first Parliament of James the more merciful Act of Elizabeth was repealed ; a new and exhaustive one was enacted. The principal things prohibited were to remove or conjure an evil spirit, to consult, covenant with, or feed one, to take up the body of a dead person for use in magic, to hurt life or limb, to seek for treasure or lost or stolen goods, to procure love, or to injure cattle by means of charms. Under this Act 70,000 persons were executed up to 1680. The story is too long to admit of detail here, and may be read in books like Mrs. Lynn Linton's "Witch Stories." One of the early prosecutions under the Act, happily unsuccessful, was instituted by the poet Fairfax. The well-known trials of the Lancashire witches occurred in 1613, and again in 1634; and in 1618 two women were hanged at Lincoln for bewitching Lord Rosse, son of the Earl of Rutland, by burying his glove. The most ferocious outburst of cruelty in England, however, was that which took place in the Eastern Counties under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament, associated with the name of Matthew Hopkins. This man was living at Manningtree in 1644, when an outcry of witchcraft arose in the town, and there he learned his art of witchfinder, which he practised for the next four years. His principal means of discovery were to search for an insensible spot on the body by pricking with pins, or King James's favourite method of trial by swimming. Here the accused was wrapped in a sheet and dragged through a pond, the great toes and thumbs being fastened together. If the body kept near the surface, which of course occurred when there was a strain on the rope, the wretch was condemned. The argument was that as witches renounced their baptism, so water, the sign of baptism, rejected them. A recital of all the cruelties Hopkins used will serve no purpose, more especially as they roused at last the indignation of the country against him, and he is said to have been convicted of witchcraft by his own methods. It is worthy of note that a parliamentary commission came down and inquired into the subject of witchcraft in 1645. With the accession to power of the Independents the persecution ceased for a time.

Matthew
Hopkins,
Witch-
finder.

It is easier to say what men have believed and done than to account for it. We must not forget that the wisest and best of men were believers in the power of witchcraft. Erasmus, so far above the follies of his age, was an implicit believer in witchcraft.

1642]

Bacon gives a scientific explanation of its powers; Elizabeth, intellectually above any man of her day, consults Dee on alchemy, sees the spirits in his speculum, sends him large gifts of money, and gives him her protection; the bishops, one and all, are firm believers; Sir Matthew Hale, Coke, and the other judges, accept the monstrous tales of children and convicts, and neglect all the laws of evidence to convict a witch. Sir Thomas Browne gives evidence against them; Burghley listens to and



TWO WITCHES DISCOVERED.

(Frontispiece to Matthew Hopkins's "Discoverie of Witches," 1647.)

preserves the rigmarole of convicted alchemists; the greatest nobles of the land and their wives are the patrons of the astrologers and charlatans of the day.

The kind of man they produced may be studied in a **Astrology.** physician and astrologer of another sort from Jerome Cardan (III, p. 453), Simon Forman, "astrologer and quack doctor." His life was a strange one. Poor scholar, apprentice, usher, ploughman, white witch, astrologer, quacksalver—each in turn, his diary tells us of his progress. Imprisoned as a rogue and vagabond by the country justices, or as a quack by the College

of Physicians, he gradually wormed himself into notoriety. In 1579 he began to find that his accidental predictions were realised ; in 1580 he began to cure diseases, in 1583 he came to London and commenced practice as an astrologer and doctor, finding out lost or stolen property. In 1587 and 1588 he began to call up angels, and to practise necromancy. In 1594 he began the



A WITCH AND HER FAMILIARS (MS. Add. 32,496).

(From a contemporary drawing in a MS. of Fairfax,
"Discourse of Witchcraft.")

search for the philosopher's stone, and in 1603 he was made M.D. of Cambridge. His greatest gains were from his lady clients. Contemporary satire shows the nature of his services to them. Jonson speaks in *Epicene* of his love-philtres, and Sir Anthony Weldon is still more explicit on the nature of his services. He is best known to this generation by the mention of him in

the Overbury trial (p. 217), where it came out that he was employed by the young Countess of Essex, married at thirteen to a boy of fourteen, who had engaged his services to preserve her from her husband's advances, and obtain for her the love of Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset. The obscene leaden and wax figures by which, Forman assured her, her end would be attained, were produced in court four years after his death, and a crack in the gallery, caused by the rising of the spectators to view them, led to a momentary panic, it being feared that the devil was coming "to claim his own." The proceedings in this case showed that the old connection between the poisoner and the witch still existed.

WHEN Elizabeth died the Universities had been thoroughly purged of Romanism only to fall into the extremity of Calvinism. While the majority of the nation longed for moderation, its pedagogues seemed to delight only in the expression of the most violent dogmas. Practical men had come to recognise under the rule of the Great Queen that England needed a national and independent Church, as well as a national and independent State. But pedantic theorists were striving to denationalise religion by introducing the Genevan system. Calvinistic theology would in time have given England the Presbyterian Church. And Calvinistic theology at the accession of James I. was supreme in the Universities. The influence of politicians had assisted the action of divines, and, says Heylin:

W. H.
HUTTON.
The Uni-
versities.

Calvinism.

"The face of the University was so much altered that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England according to the principles and positions upon which it was first reformed. All the Calvinian rigours in matters of predestination, and the points depending thereupon, received as the established doctrine of the Church of England; the necessity of one sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto man's salvation not only disputed but denied; Episcopacy maintained by halves, not as a distinct order from that of Presbyters, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that for fear of giving scandal to the churches of Calvin's platform; the Church of Rome inveighed against as the 'whore of Babylon,' the 'mother of abominations'; the Pope as publicly maintained to be Antichrist, or the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief articles of the Christian faith; and then, for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the Church must be no otherwise maintained than

by looking for it in the scattered conventicles of the Berengarians in Italy, the Albigenses in France, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Wickliffists among ourselves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the forms and orders of this Church than there had been for points of doctrine; the surplice so disused in the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine Service of the Church so slubbered over in most of the colleges that the prelates and clergy assembled in Convocation anew in 1603 were necessitated to pass two canons to bring them back again to ancient practice."

Such were the opinions of men like Dr. Humphrey, Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. John Rainolds, President of Corpus Christi, and the two Abbots after them, and such the practical teaching of the Universities when Laud was an undergraduate. From him chiefly the change was to come. And in his college—St. John's—indeed, Calvinism had never been triumphant. Tobie Matthew (President 1572–77, afterwards Archbishop of York) took in controversy a tone by no means Calvinistic; Buckeridge (President 1605–11, afterwards Bishop of Ely) was one of the foremost in the anti-Calvinist reaction. But during the earlier part of James I.'s reign Oxford was Calvinistic, and as such it received the support of a Calvinistic king. At Cambridge the same influence was predominant, especially at Sidney and Emmanuel. Four out of the five English representatives at the Synod of Dort (1618–19) were Cambridge men. The attitude of James I. towards the Universities was one of non-interference with, if not active patronage of, Calvinistic theology, coupled with an insistence on such a practical acceptance of the Church polity as the necessities of an independent national Church required. Thus the canons of 1604 required the wearing of the surplice in divine service in both Universities. The Puritan Heads were alarmed—"God grant that other worse things do not follow the so strict urging of this indifferent ceremony," was the feeling of Dr. Samuel Ward, the Master of Sidney. This was followed by the requirement of a declaration of acceptance of the Church formalities by all proceeding to a degree. But the king was no less prominent in patronising than in directing. In 1604 both Universities received the right of returning two burgesses to sit in the House of Commons. In 1606 the nomination to all ecclesiastical patronage belonging to Roman Catholics was given by statute to the Universities, Oxford receiving the southern and Cambridge the northern shires. James, as a learned king,

delighted to patronise learned men.

At Cambridge, during the reign, one college began decisively to outstrip the others in influence. Trinity, under Dr. Neville (Master 1593-1613) assumed a position of supremacy in the University which it has never relinquished. At Oxford no such uncontested supremacy was ever acquired. The leadership shifted as the respective ability of the authorities changed. Towards the end of James's reign the influence of Laud had had its effect, and St. John's was holding a temporary prominence among the colleges.

James took a personal as well as a theological and pedantic interest in the Universities—or, at least, his interest showed itself in personal visits. The occasions were marked by the performances of the semi-classical



VIEW OF OXFORD ABOUT 1615.

(Braun and Hohenberg, "*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*,")

semi-modern plays in which the learned and half-learned humorists of the time delighted (p. 221). Oxford was not behindhand in its masques and mummings. The *Christmas Prince* and *Narcissus* are characteristic of the affected quaintness of the time, and the allegorical street-welcomes were no less necessary a feature of a royal visit under James than they had been under Elizabeth. Cambridge, however, bequeathed to posterity more famous plays, as its *Ignoramus* (1615), and earlier its renowned *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*



NEVILLE'S COURT, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

and *Return from Parnassus*. And whatever their theology, their learning, or their humour, the Universities were strongly, not to say subserviently, loyal to the Crown. In 1626, at a time when political animosity against him as Minister was at its height, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

The
Reaction.

But during all the later years of James I. a strong reaction against Calvinism was being felt at both Universities. At Cambridge Andrewes and Harsnet, men strong in their knowledge of Christian antiquity and in the holiness of their personal lives, worked each in his own way in favour of a more liberal and

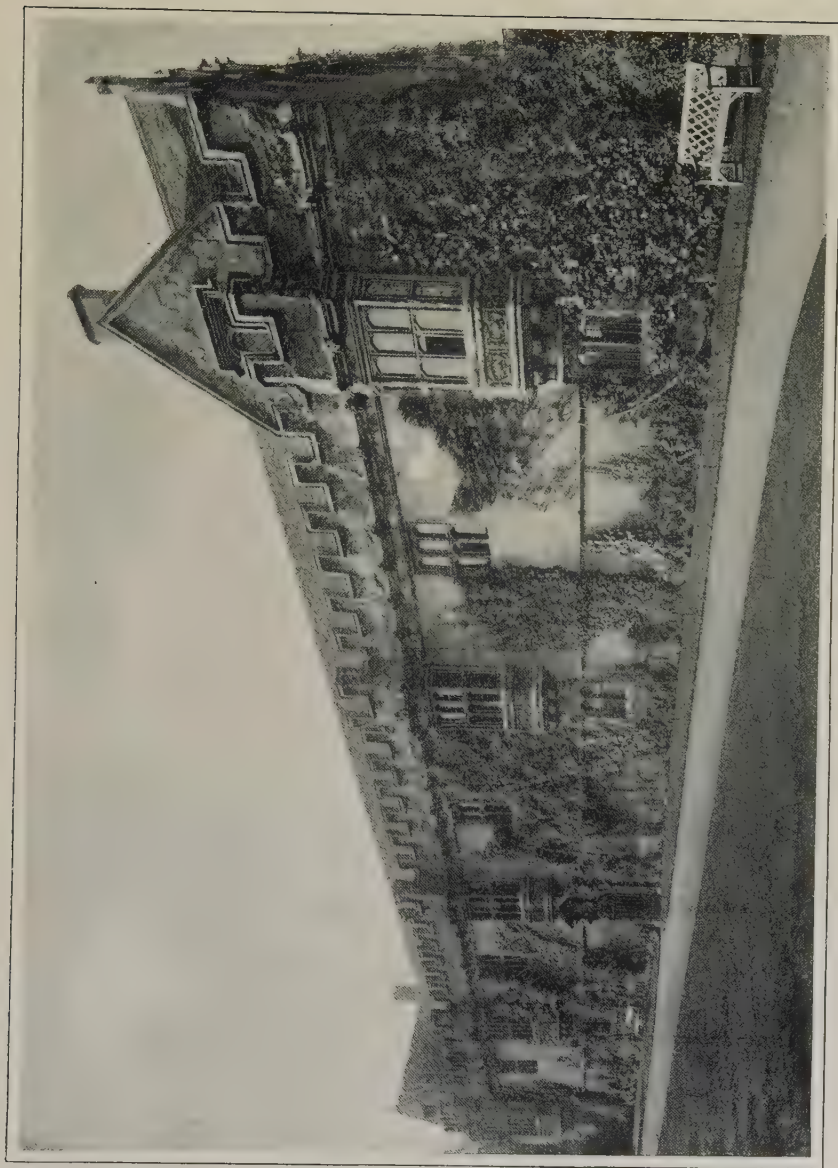


Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.

THE GARDEN FRONT, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

**Laud's
Influence.**

historical theology. At Oxford William Laud, founding his study, as said the bishop who ordained him, "upon the noble foundation of the Fathers, councils, and the ecclesiastical historians," was teaching the University by his sermons and his lectures to discard the stern, narrow system of belief which had so long reigned supreme. It was a long struggle—as long as that which gave victory to the Tractarians two centuries later. Laud, as fellow and head of his college, lived through the fiercest opposition. He was rated by the Vice-Chancellor, attacked in sermons, insulted in the streets. But in the end "Arminianism" conquered. Men were weary of the fierce denunciations of wrath which came from Calvinistic pulpits, and reason suggested articles of peace.

**Discipline
Restored.**

The next period of University history is that in which Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford. In the latter capacity he did a great work. He restored discipline, he reformed college abuses, and he issued a code of University law. In 1630 it seemed that all ancient formalities and ancient order were in decay. There was no wearing of the academic dress, no obedience or reverence among juniors, among seniors chiefly wrangling, and among all ages bitter disputes, often ending in the breaking of heads if not the loss of life. In 1636 Sir John Coke could note a complete change. There was no more haunting of taverns or loitering in places of ill-example, but a serious devotion to study and a constant resort to the public libraries and schools. In the colleges Laud interfered, as Visitor or as Chancellor, to compel the Fellows of Merton to obey their statutes, to recognise the lawful privileges of Queen's, and to rate even heads of colleges for their folly and haste. But his greatest work was the issue of a careful codification of University statutes, drawn up, simplified, and amended, which he had caused to be the work of learned lawyers, and had himself revised with scrupulous care. He substituted a settled government, through a Board of the Heads of Houses, for the chance rule of old days, and he gave to the rulers and the ruled alike a fixed body of University statutes under which their University could expand and flourish. The power which he enjoyed, Laud desired to give permanently to the Church by asserting a right to visit the Universities as inherent in the office of Metropolitan. The claim was contested by the Uni-

versities, but was finally admitted by the King in Council. It was, however, never exercised, as the time of trouble diverted men's thoughts into other channels. The intimate interest shown by the Crown and the leading ministers in the Universities during the previous half-century had its natural result in leaving Oxford and Cambridge at the opening of the Civil War strongly Royalist in their sympathies. The colleges freely gave up their plate to the Royal cause, and before long furnished troops of students to the Royal armies.

The life of an undergraduate in those days was a merry one. The tutors were occupied as much with their own studies as with the instruction or discipline of their pupils, and we have in the letters of the time vivid pictures of a gay society. Edmund Verney, the gallant young cavalier who was treacherously murdered at Drogheda, went to Oxford in the year before the outbreak of the war, and was but an idle young scapegrace when he was there. He was caught at "Mrs.

Gabriels'" supping on a Friday, when no meat could be got in college; he absented himself "from my lectures," complained his tutor indignantly, "and likewise from prayer in the hall;" he was overwhelmed with debt, and he fell into grievous ill ways. At length he was forced to admit of his ill courses that unless he "leaves Oxford he cannot leave them. I can impute it to noe other cases than my own ambition in perpetuall desiring of greate company, for had I associated myself with low quality I should have found it no hard matter to have shaken them off. . . . It is not any hate I bear to learning,



BUST OF SIR THOMAS BODLEY.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Under-
graduate
Life.

but my own facile nature, soe apt to be drawn the worst way." And so he must leave Magdalen Hall, and join the army to fight the Scots. No doubt to many, as to young Mun Verney, the trumpet was not altogether unwelcome when it sounded in the classic groves of Oxford.

GEORGE
SAINTSBURY.
Literature.

WHEN we look narrowly and distinguishingly (which is, perhaps, not a very easy thing to do in any such case) at the general characteristics of the literature of the first half of the seventeenth century, as contrasted with that of the second half of the sixteenth, we shall find very considerable justification for regarding the later period as an age of prose, rather than, like the earlier, one of poetry. And this is not in the very least inconsistent with the admission that the quality of its poetry was certainly not on the whole inferior, and that the amount of positively good verse was probably larger. For in all such questions we must look at the rising not the falling sap; at the direction of the current; at the character of the seed sown, not at that of the flower that is blown or overblown, or of the fruit that is ripening or even dropping from the stalk. And if we look in this way, if we take thought for the birth-dates, ages, and history of the great men of the day, if we observe that even the greatest poets had a tendency to be prose writers as well, and, above all, if we look after as well as before, we shall be more and more confirmed in the conclusion stated above.

The English
Bible.

It may be partly an accident, but is also certainly something more than an accident, that the most remarkable and the most influential single book of the whole period was in prose. It is unnecessary to praise the authorised version of the English Bible. The approval of every competent scholar who has the taste as well as the erudition appertaining to true scholarship, the mastery which its language has attained over the whole course of English literature, and last, not least, the disastrous failure of all attempts to improve upon it, settle the matter quite sufficiently. But it is relevant, and even necessary, to point out the happy combination of power in the artists, and fortune in the circumstances, which gave and so long maintained the prerogative authority of this book. In respect of fortune, indeed, the antecedent as well as the subsequent advantages

were extraordinary. Scholarship had advanced far enough to supply a respectable text and an ample knowledge of the languages, but had not reached the stage of concentration on various readings and grammatical niceties in which really literary translation is perhaps impossible. The rough work, the work which corresponds to that of the man who hews the marble for the sculptor, had been done by a succession of vernacular translators from Wycliffe onward. The great semi-



THE AUTHORISED VERSION: BUST OF DR. JOHN RAINOLDS.

(Corpus Christi College, Oxford. By permission of the President.)

canonical versions of the Septuagint and the Vulgate were no mean assistance. Best of all, the translators began their work at a period when, as was pointed out at the close of the section devoted to this subject in the last chapter, a strange creative literary sense was abroad in the English people, when the vocabulary of English had been enriched, and its syntax supplied by long practice, and when it had not been hackneyed or smoothed out of raciness by too much use. Further, the known procedure of the translators was, in at least two ways, an extraordinarily happy example of the difficult, and,

to some people, almost impossible art of collaboration. They allowed precedence in the translation of each book to such scholars and divines as had given special attention to that book; and the version thus arrived at being read aloud, only such things as any objector could prove to be erroneous or inadequate were altered. Thus the version could not well fail to preserve a certain undivided tone which is not to be attained by a mere mosaic, or patchwork. But the happiest of their ideas was that which Selden mentions in a passage misunderstood by some moderns; the way in which, while often indulging in

extremely vernacular English, they rendered into English words the exact idioms of Hebrew and Greek when it seemed good to them to do so. Hereby they at once gave wonderful strength and colour to their version, and enriched the tongue to an extent hardly to be realised, till the facts have been examined. The good people who so vehemently object to a similar practice now, and cry out at French, or German, or Italian idioms, however exactly Englished, as solecisms, perhaps do not suspect and certainly ignore the fact that English language and English



THE AUTHORISED VERSION: DR.
THOS. HOLLAND.

(From a print in the Bodleian Library,
Oxford.)

literature have been built up in this very way. It would hardly be excessive to say that a certain number of translations—with that of the Bible at their head, of course, but also including such books as North's "Plutarch," Florio's "Montaigne," the "Arabian Nights," and a few others—have had more influence upon the actual stuff and the actual machinery of the English tongue, than its very greatest native writers.

The after-luck of the Authorised Version, however, was even more remarkable than the chances of its birth and the skill of its parents and sponsors. It was issued at a time and under a Government which made its universal acceptance a certainty.

But the season of revolution which followed did not impair, but, on the contrary, enormously extended and multiplied its influence. To the Puritan it was his one book, his manual of belief, his system of philosophy of all kinds, from metaphysics to politics, his arsenal for polemic, his literature of amusement. The highest Churchman was equally, if not so exclusively, attached to a document issued with all the sanction of Church



THE AUTHORISED VERSION: JOHN KING, BISHOP OF LONDON

(From the portrait by Janssen. By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.)

and king, and containing his own storehouse of weapons against Papist and Puritan alike. The passion which set in for hearing sermons accustomed everybody to it in text and citation: and the long-continued habit of attending daily service made large portions of it familiar to those who could not or did not read. It soaked from every side, at every pore, into the understanding and the heart of the English people.

The dominating theological interest of the time was also expressed and heightened by much original theological writing,

Theological
Writers;
Sermons.

both for the purposes of the pulpit and for those of the study. In regard to preaching there will probably always be a difference of opinion as to the relative excellence of the preachers before the Civil Wars, of whom Andrewes, Donne and Hall are perhaps the chief, and those after it, whose greatest names are South, Barrow, and Tillotson. But perhaps the question may be amicably settled by pointing out that Jeremy Taylor, who overlaps the two periods, and, on the whole, rather belongs to the earlier, and exemplifies its style, is by common consent the chief of English sacred orators. The magnificence of his style, which at times is almost unequalled and quite unsurpassed, marks the furthest limit—with certain passages of Browne—of the florid and rather lawless period of English prose. But he is approached, though not quite to such a sustained extent, in splendour, and actually surpassed in a sort of mystical strangeness and charm, by the much earlier Donne, whose literary, like his personal history, is a singular one. Beginning as an amatory poet of the most exquisite quality, but also of the greatest licence in tone and temper, and a satirist of a rough, rude vigour not often exceeded, Donne was, after much foreign travel and soldiering, sobered by a happy marriage, first into the study of law, and then into that of theology. He took orders late, and, though a favourite preacher with King James, did not at once receive any great preferment, which, however, fell to him at last in the shape (among other things) of the Deanery of St. Paul's, then in many respects one of the best benefices in England. But the death of his wife and the reaction from the early transports of his passionate and mystical temperament impressed upon his later work generally, and especially on his later sermons, a strange hue of gloom nowhere else to be found in prose. Hall, also a satirist, was a preacher of more cheerful temper but of very varied powers and great ability; while Andrewes may, perhaps, be said to have, despite his natural shrewdness, less of the secular literary man and more of the cleric about him than either. But they were only the greatest of many great orators, who by turns excited and fed the almost insatiable appetite for the time for pulpit eloquence.

Contro-
versy.

But the composition of sermons naturally did not employ all the energies of the theologians of the time; and controversy, exposition, and so forth, were indulged in by all the persons

already named, and others. James himself had developed his great-grand-uncle's taste for polemics, and distinguished himself (comically enough if the sequel be looked to) by opposition to Arminius at the Synod of Dort. At the other end of the period, but in a very different order of literary accomplishment, Jeremy Taylor meddled with controversy not altogether to his advantage, for the logical strand in his mind was not the strongest, and he was thought to have slipped into something like heresy. Between them all the great divines of the time dealt either with the anti-Presbyterian or the anti-Papal debates, and not seldom with both; while not a few enriched the body of Anglican divinity with writings rather devotional than disputatious. Milton again, at the later end of the period, began the series of controversial works—occasionally diversified by splendid passages, but constantly disfigured by acrid temper, bad manners, indecent contempt of dignities, and an overweening intellectual and spiritual pride—which intervened between the exquisite first growth and the grand later harvest of his poetical powers. But the principal work of the time, which has come down with at least traditional reputation to posterity, was Chillingworth's "*Religion of Protestants*"—a book strengthened in some respects, weakened in others, by the fact that the author had himself vacillated from and to the standard of Anglican orthodoxy, and exhibiting what is in such cases almost inevitable—a certain leaning towards latitudinarianism which was to be considerably accentuated in the clergy of the English Church as time went on, though it never received any directly official or synodical sanction.

This latter tendency—latitudinarian in belief, Erastian in discipline—overflowed into the kindred subjects of politics and philosophy. The tight hand kept on Nonconformity until the ill-success of the policy of Laud and Strafford, feebly carried out by their master, set free the dissidents, prevented much expression of this tendency from appearing in literature till nearly or quite the end of our period. It can scarcely be doubted that the thoughts of the greatest man in both these departments—of one of the greatest men that England has furnished to the history of them—were matured long before its conclusion. Thomas Hobbes (p. 393) was by this time a man of fifty-four. It was only then that he published the "*De Cive*," the first of his great

Politics
and
Philosophy:
Hobbes.

political and philosophical treatises, and indeed of his original works. But his translation of Thucydides fourteen years earlier had shown the bent of his mind sufficiently; for, whatever some authorities may say, the great Athenian is the father of all such as consider history in connection with philosophy, and politics in connection with history. So, too, it was only about this time that the rough and rude, but splendid and vigorous, tracts of Milton, in whom there was little philosophy, properly so called, appeared. The violence, though not the genius, of this Puritan spirit had been earlier shown by Prynne, and it would be possible in a greater space both to say more about these writers as they have been named, and to add the names of many others. But the choicest spirits for illustration of the actual mind and temper of the nation in James's reign and the earlier part of his son's are perhaps Selden and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Both show tendencies which were on the mounting hand through Europe, and both show them with a specially English difference. A greater than either was indeed the contemporary, though the younger contemporary, of both. But the wonderful literary genius of Hyde, and his unequalled faculty of gauging and drawing men, produced no overt expression during this time, unless it be a State paper or two; the cool shade of exile had to come before it could find time and opportunity to bear its full fruit.

Selden.

Selden was an older man even than Hobbes by four years, and he died five years after the execution of the king. His political, like his mental, position was very peculiar; and though his great works on "Titles of Honour," on "Tithes" (rather bad history, as Lord Selborne has shown once for all, and not very good law), and on the "Mare Clausum," are now sealed books to all but a few literary students of the particular subjects, his universally read "Table Talk" (of which Mr. Reynolds has at last produced a worthy edition) keeps it well before all but the most careless readers. The defects and the merits of Selden's temperament were both eminently English. He was the first and greatest of the "Trimmers" who enlisted during this stormy century so large a contingent of our nation's strength. As long as personal sovereignty menaced the traditional privileges of Englishmen he was distinctly popular in sympathy, and even stood a certain amount of persecution in the popular cause. When that cause had got the upper hand and began to presume,

Selden drew back. He was an Oxford man; but the greatest Cambridge poet of our time has exactly summarised Selden's idea, without probably thinking of Selden, in the well-known lines about

Freedom slowly broadening down
From precedent to precedent.

He was thus very horrible to "high-fliers" and men in a hurry on either side; and indeed to the present day there is a certain



Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

JOHN SELDEN.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

cold-bloodedness about him. He had the lawyer's—especially the English lawyer's—dislike of ecclesiasticism; he had the scholar's dislike of democracy. He was almost a great man; but he was not in the least a hero.

Still less heroic, and much less great, was Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who, however, had more literary power than Selden, and was even more double-faced. While Selden's conduct in the civil strife was lukewarm and trimming, Herbert's, who began on the opposite side to the author of "*Mare Clausum*," was something

Herbert of
Cherbury.

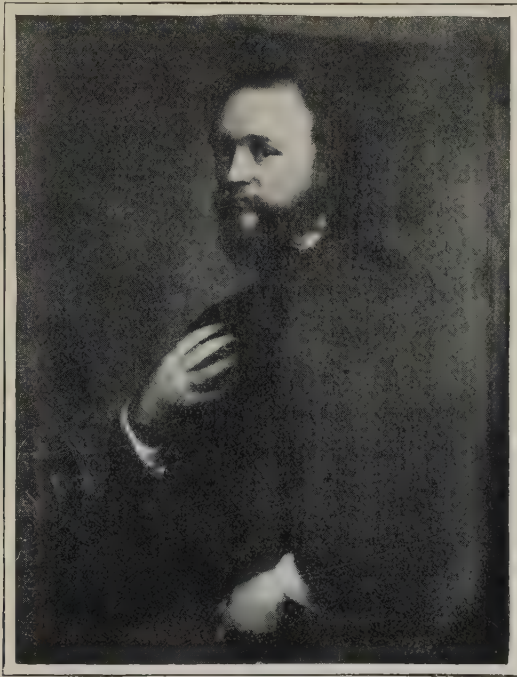
very like that of a deserter. He wrote three notable books in prose, but only two of them in English—the “History of Henry VIII.,” a distinct attempt to fall in with the extremer views of James and his son on sovereignty; the well-known “Autobiography,” and the famous “De Veritate” (p. 392). Probably the last is the most important. It is, though not in English, the first attempt by an Englishman to express those rationalising views on religious questions which were gathering force in all European countries, and had been, to a certain extent, expressed in French already by Montaigne and Charron. That it was not written in English and was not translated into English, is most assuredly not due, as in Bacon’s case, to any contempt of the vernacular, but to Herbert’s master passion of avoiding anything likely to get him into trouble. As for the “Autobiography,” it is no doubt delightful, but it is delightful partly, if not wholly, as a monument of coxcombry.

Prose
Literature:
Raleigh.

The prose of the time, however, was illustrated and employed by a large number of writers, who did not find it necessary, or were not tempted by their own tastes, to attack any of what La Bruyère calls *les grands sujets*; or who, if they touched them, touched them in a more or less non-controversial way. The composition at least of Sir Walter Raleigh’s famous and rather puzzling “History of the World” dates from the earlier part of this time—from that long imprisonment of his which, with Strafford’s death, the Treaty of Dover, and the attempted dragonnade of the English bishops and universities under James the Second, form a quartette of unanswerable indictments against our Stuart kings even in the judgment of the stoutest rational Jacobites. Great uncertainty has always rested over the actual authorship of this, as of most of Raleigh’s work; but if he wrote the best parts of it he wrote passages which have few if any superiors in English prose. To our section, too, belongs the first, and not the least, work of one whom in some moods one might feel inclined to call the greatest writer of that prose, the “Religio Medici” of Sir Thomas Browne, not then knighted. It was published in our last year, 1642, but is known to have been some seven years older in composition and to have been handed about in MS. Browne gives us the most eloquent and almost the most characteristic example (the latter superlative must be reserved for another to be mentioned presently) of what

Browne.

is the special intellectual and literary temperament of the seventeenth century till nearly its close. This temperament was marked by an extraordinary and, in a way, exact, learning combined with a very strong romantic tendency, a vigorous and wide-ranging scepticism, not excluding in some cases an unhesitating and unhypocritical orthodoxy, a willingness to extend this into what later ages would call decided credulity and super-



SIR KENELM DIGBY.

(From the portrait at Trinity House, by permission of the Elder Brethren.)

stition, a singular blend in style of the academic and the vernacular. The splendour of Browne's diction was not quite fully shown till a little later. The character of his genius is pretty completely exhibited in the "Religio."

It brought him into respectful and polite controversy with another typical figure of the time, Sir Kenelm Digby, occultist, orthodox believer, pink of chivalry, and husband of a lady of face fairer than her fame—the romantically named and roman-

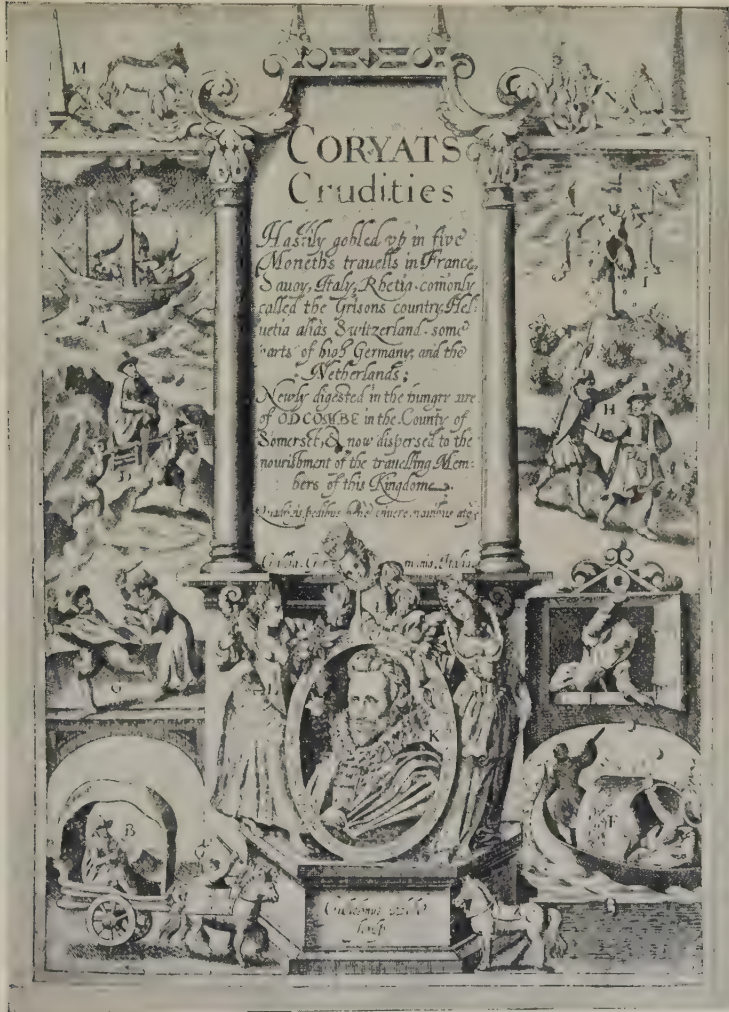
Coryat.

tically beautiful Venetia Stanley. Sir Kenelm, perhaps, belongs, though his talents were great and his passion for books admirable, to the class of oddities who are very strongly represented at this time. To these also pertain Thomas Coryat, the title of whose "Crudities hastily gobbled up" is known to many who know nothing else of him, who is said to have introduced forks into England, and who certainly executed, with the least apparent means, very remarkable travels in Europe and Asia. Another great Thomas (it was certainly not true at this time, as Dryden asserted it to be a little later, that "dulness was fated to the name of Tom" in the age of Hobbes and Browne), and a still greater oddity even than Coryat, was Sir Thomas Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais after a fashion, which no rendering from one tongue to another has ever exceeded in literal fidelity, and the author of a series of original works, of which it is hard to say whether their title-scheme, their phraseology, or their informing spirit and thought is the more astounding. At times it may seem as if Urquhart was on, or over, the verge of madness; but he never forgets method, and it may almost be said that he never writes nonsense.

Walton.

The "Resolves" of Feltham, the earlier letters of Howell, and at least the earlier "Lives," though not the "Complete Angler" of Walton, belong to the period. Howell, indeed, begins (though whether his letters were actually written at the time at which they are dated has been questioned) considerably before the accession of Charles the First, while Feltham must have published before 1628. The works of all three have been at different times, and of one at almost all times, more favourite reading than those of far greater writers. Of Walton, who touches the time least in actual production, though he had imbibed some of the sweeter and more gracious traits of its spirit, it is almost unnecessary to speak. The sweetness and (to no small power of illumination) the light of his disposition, his exquisite appreciation of whatever things are pure and of good report, and his not less exquisite feeling for the milder and more domestic aspects of English scenery have secured him a popularity which men much his superiors in strict literature have failed to secure. So, too, Howell, a busy "polygraph" as the French say, and a professional man of letters who had travelled much, and tried many irons in many

fires, has filled his letters (his miscellaneous writings are mostly unread) with such vivid and interesting details—gossip, anecdote,



TITLE-PAGE TO CORYAT'S "CRUDITIES," 1611.

description, and what not—as have altogether bribed many good judges, and have not failed to produce an effect even upon the most incorruptible. Feltham, who had a very great vogue as

the author of moral reflections in his own day, and has seen it revived at least once, is, perhaps, just now less of a favourite than either; for he is neither picturesque nor diversified, and the beginning of the twentieth century finds ethics without epigram commonplace. But his house is built upon the rock; and it can afford to wait for new tenants to dwell in it.

Fuller.

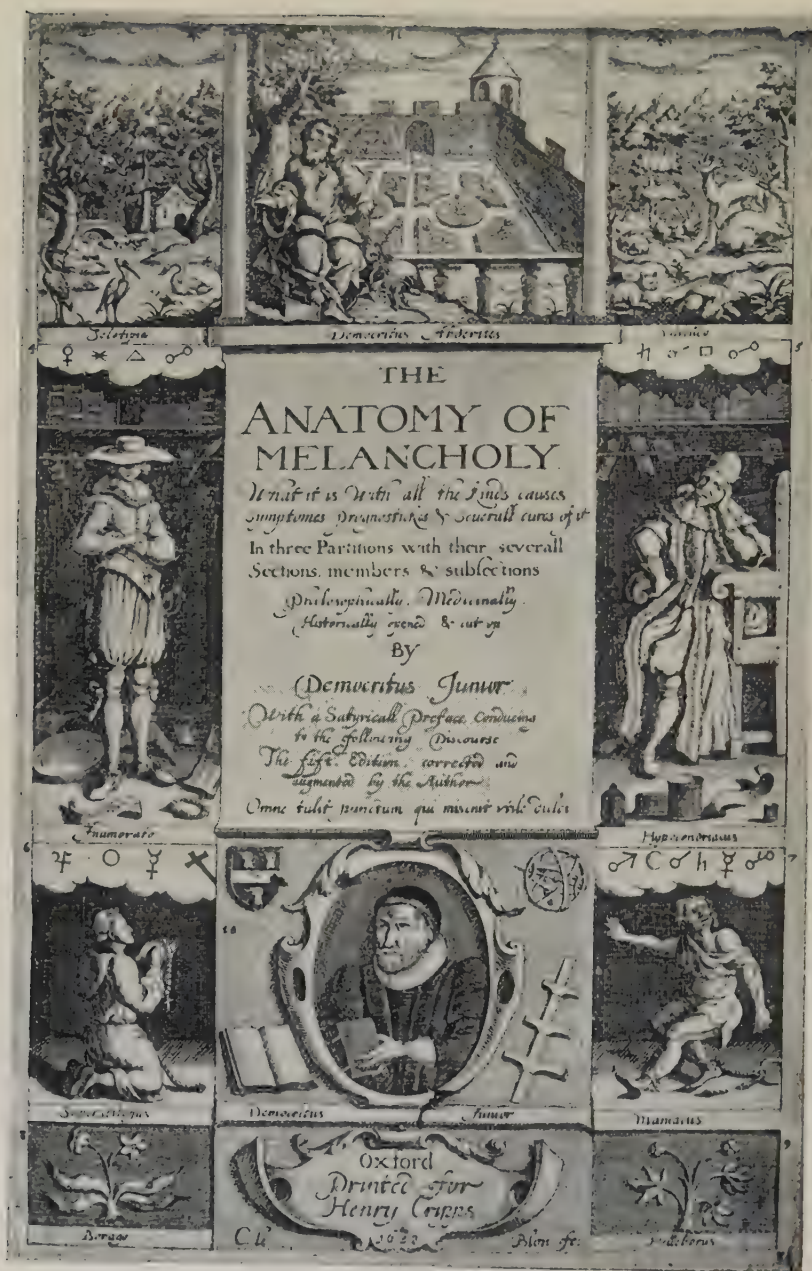
From this time, too, date the famous "Characters" of Overbury, though some of them may be earlier, and the similar work called "Microcosmography," of Bishop Earle; from this the earlier sermons and the first important work, the "Holy War," of another of the great Thomases of the first half of the seventeenth century, Thomas Fuller. Of the quaintness of this time Fuller is probably the most remarkable exponent in that degree of it which stops short of the learning run mad of Urquhart and the sheer jack-puddingism of Coryat. As a busy writer, Fuller was a man of the Civil War and Commonwealth time; and it is arguable that the difficulties of that time (from which, however, though he never ratted or truckled, he suffered less than almost any other Royalist divine) may have helped to direct him into and confirm him in the singular indulgence in quips and cranks (never irreverent or indecorous, but certainly unexpected) on sacred subjects, which distinguished him most. But he was a man of thirty-four in 1642, and his already published works show that the style was quite natural to him, as, indeed, it was to his whole generation. By the time of his own early death, as we know from a diatribe of no less a man than South, it had begun to seem shocking, not to the casual fool, but to men themselves of the keenest intelligence, and the most unsparingly sarcastic humour. But this was one of the evil effects of the Reign of the Saints, who did not look with favour upon joking, and whose own indulgences in it, as we know from the example of Milton, were of the least jocular kind.

Burton.

But the greatest name, except Bacon, in this time has yet to be mentioned. It is exceedingly interesting to contrast with that towering hope for the future and almost contumelious disdain of the past which characterise Bacon himself, the tone and temper of this other writer. Robert Burton was, indeed, born more than a quarter of a century before James the First came to the throne. But the period of his intellectual flourishing

(he died in 1639) was almost co-extensive with our time, and as the "Anatomy of Melancholy" first appeared in 1621, while its author went on assiduously correcting and enlarging it till his death, Burton is the very criticism of and counterblast to the author of the "Novum Organum." He, too, had taken nearly all knowledge to be his province; and the enormous acquaintance with books which his notes and quotations display is a plentiful harvest even for the forty years of uninterrupted study which he appears to have enjoyed from his election as student of Christ Church in 1599 to his death. But nothing can possibly be further from Burton's temperament or his hopes than any *instauratio magna*, any great new conquest of knowledge and power for man. On the contrary, he seems to regard the whole province of learning as merely destined to supply at once the food and the remedies of his famous "Melancholy." This "Melancholy" might be treated and described in a great number of ways; but a good description of it for our purpose, and one which I think both true and not hackneyed, is that it is a sort of English version—darkened by the national "spleen," enlarged and ennobled by a much greater learning, and differentiated by personal idiosyncrasy—of the sceptical criticism of Montaigne. It is important to observe that there is no overt scepticism in Burton, and that enormous as is the range of his subjects of desultory comment, he exhibits a sort of instinctive caution when he approaches politics and religion. But the whole tone of the book is *Quod nihil scitur*, illustrated by the very parade of learning, and leading up to at least a hint of the further question, "And what does it matter if nothing is known, and if all is vanity?" The attitude is even more remarkable than Montaigne's, because there was little in the circumstances of Burton's own life and time to account for it. He was not, as Montaigne to some extent was, a "jaded voluptuary"; he had experienced none of the troubles of public life, no horrors of religious war; and there was not even for some time after he published his book much to excite fear as to the state of England, even in a man more careful of the signs of the times and more timid than "Democritus Junior" seems to have been. The singular combination of humour, despair, and zest of learning, displayed in the "Anatomy," is indicative not less of the temper of the time than of the critic's own nature and circumstances.

The
"Anatomy
of Melan-
choly."



TITLE-PAGE TO BURTON'S "ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY," 1628.

And there could be no stronger and more striking figure at the feast of the seventeenth century, with its vast schemes for the renovation of politics, philosophy, religion, its endless hopes from physical science, its projects of trade, of universal domination, be it Austrian or French, of new literatures to supersede the old, of architecture that was to dethrone the almost millennial rule of Gothic, of criticism of the very Scriptures, of exploration of the very heavens, than the apparition of this erudite skeleton pointing to entire libraries and saying—"This is the record of ambitions and energies as great as and so far longer-lived than yours. It is all poison, all food for melancholy; and it is lucky if among the poison there be a little antidote."

In all the prose writers hitherto mentioned there is more or less attempt at style; they all belong, some eminently, some at least as passmen, to the school of literature proper. But a great deal of work was done—as indeed was inevitable from that very devotion of the age to learning which has been noted—in the domain of purely instructive writing destined to accumulate and impart information only. The works of Selden—who indeed was much more than a mere antiquary or compiler—have been noticed. Those of Dugdale may also, in a certain sense, be said to belong to our period, though the "*Monasticon*" did not actually appear till 1655, and its author's other work till after the Restoration. Camden died in the very middle of our time, and after the accession of James was still busily employed in enlarging and in erecting the "*Britannia*." The death of Hakluyt, at no great distance of time from that of Shakespeare, did not put an end to the remarkable geographical publications of that patriotic and indefatigable scholar; for his successor, Purchas, came into possession of his manuscripts and utilised them for his "*Pilgrims*," which became the second great English collection of voyages and travels. The chroniclers, indeed, of the Holinshed and Stow class, began to fall off; but in their place, the compilers of careful memoirs and records of the political events of their own time, of whom, next to Clarendon, of course, Whitelocke is perhaps the chief, filled up the interval between them and the historians proper of the next century.

There was also, save for some shrewd observations of Ben Jonson and one or two others, a curious falling-off from those attempts at literary criticism which we noticed in Elizabeth's

Learning:
Dugdale,
Camden,
Hakluyt.

time. But, with few exceptions (such as prose fiction), it is scarcely too much to say that by the time of the breaking out of the Civil Wars, English literature was quite fully constituted. It had tried almost all the branches of its own art, had put its services at the disposal of most other arts and sciences. The writing of books and the reading of books were both established as a regular part of the intellectual habits of the nation, with hardly any restriction in subject and with no want of adaptable-



RUINS OF BACON'S HOUSE, NEAR ST. ALBANS.

Bacon

ness in manner. The greatest light of the period in prose has, however, hitherto received little more than allusion. Bacon's own finished performances date in point of publication, with the exception of the earlier "Essays," wholly from it. The completer form of that famous book "The Advancement of Learning," the "Sylva Sylvarum," the "History of Henry the Seventh," the "New Atlantis," independently of the Latin works, all belong to the reign of James the First or to the brief space in that of his son during which Bacon was allowed life. The characteristics of at least that part of them which has continued to be read—too often, it is to be feared, compulsorily and as school work—are as well known as the characteristics of any of

our older writers, except Shakespeare and Milton. The stately tropes and metaphors; the magnificent promises and heraldings of what the new science is to give us; the cunningly adjusted scraps of classical or biblical phrase; the pithy apophthegms; the shrewd common-sense; the suggestion that seems even more



BACON'S MONUMENT, ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, ST. ALBANS.

pregnant than it is; the masterful employment of a learning which is perhaps more thoroughly at command than extensive or profound—all these notes of "topmost Verulam" are well known. Unjust to his predecessors, hasty and even superficial in his grasp of sciences and philosophies, rhetorical, casuistical, almost shallow, delusive in his mighty promises, hollow in his cunning schemes and methods—all these unfavourable labels have been at different times attached to Bacon, and for some at

least of them the Devil's Advocate may make out a strong case. But the magnificence of his literature, and his imagination in the directions where he was imaginative, is undeniable; and he was perhaps, to those who look at literature as it affects and is affected by the social history of England, the best mouth-piece and embodiment of that side of the late Renaissance which retained the hopes of an all-embracing *philosophia prima*, supporting them on the treacherous struts and props that seemed to be lent by the new learning in physics as well as by the study of the ancients.



Photo: Pontou.

BUST OF SHAKESPEARE.

(Stratford-on-Avon Church.)

There can be little doubt that if we take the number and excellence of the playwrights and the interests of the spectators (on a third point, the art of the actors, we know practically nothing), the first thirty years of the seventeenth century excel as a dramatic period any other in English history. As time went on, no doubt, the merit of the practitioners declined, and the opposition on moral and other grounds strongly increased; but it does not appear that the general taste for the theatre was at all affected by either the one or the other change. Indeed, the contrary is shown by the eagerness with which it once

The
Drama.

more sought indulgence directly the prohibition of stage-plays was removed. Indeed, so far as the literary merit of this dramatic literature is concerned, we may still further narrow down the statement, and say that in the first twenty years of the century the English theatre reached a perfection in point of literary genius which has never at any other time been equalled in England, and which has certainly never been surpassed elsewhere.

A very slight survey of dates and details will suffice to make this good. These two decades saw at their beginning the dramatic art safely through the stage of initiation by the hands of Marlowe

and his friends, and well out of the possibility of danger, though not free from occasional futile assaults on the part of the regular or Senecan tragedy. They saw, farther, the end, the flourishing, or the rise of every Elizabethan dramatist who can by the most liberal arrangement be put in the first class without exception, save Marlowe at the one end and Shirley at the other.

In the first place, they included the last sixteen years of the life of Shakespeare, and beyond all question—uncertain and precarious as is the exact attribution in time of his plays—

Shake-
speare's
Later
Plays.



THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1612.

(From a contemporary print.)

almost the whole of his finest work, of the work which most makes Shakespeare Shakespeare. His struggling days were long past; he was a prosperous gentleman at Stratford even before the century opened. But this prosperity did not, as it often does, in the very least choke or clog his talent. There is every reason to believe that from this time date the great romantic tragedies other than *Romeo and Juliet*, the greatest of the Roman plays, and, above all, and probably latest of all, those three masterpieces of romantic drama which is not purely tragic, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *Cymbeline*—things which no other dramatist in the world except Calderon has even

approached, and which will remain for ever, even if in other plays and other poems and prose higher single touches appear to this or that taste, the most original and exquisite achievements of the English genius.



Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

BEN JONSON.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

Shakespeare's great friend in fact, rival in fiction, contrast and counterpart in sober criticism—Ben Jonson—lived during a far longer part of the period; indeed, he almost reached its end, was for many years its literary dictator, and may be said on the whole to have been, all things considered, and space of time as well as variety of work allowed for, its representative literary man. But all his best work was done by the end of the second decade. Before that time he had written all his great plays

and most of his best poems, had received the appointment which is sometimes called the Laureateship, and had acquired such a reputation, not merely for dramatic and poetic quality, but for learning of the soundest and least dilettante character, as has never been surpassed by any English poet. After 1620 he was chiefly busy with masques, sometimes beautiful, but sometimes a trivial waste of time, with the later batch of plays which Dryden unkindly called his "dotages" and so forth; though just before his death he was able to produce the exquisite poetry of the "Sad Shepherd," and the wonderfully nervous English and learned intelligence of the prose "Discoveries." But the great plays *Sejanus*, *Volpone*, *The Silent Woman*, *The Alchemist*, *Catiline*, and *Bartholomew Fair* were all produced between 1605 and 1614; in other words, even before the death of Shakespeare. Nor would it be easy in any other country to find two men at the same time producing work so diametrically opposite in character and yet so instinct with genius in both cases. The supreme touch, the universal and divine touch of his friend, Ben had

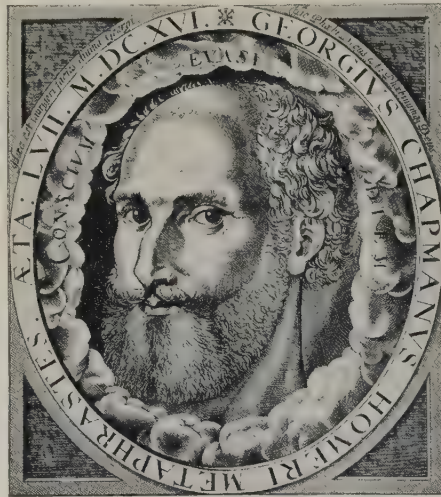
not; and all his art and sense could not supply the want. But short of that he could do mightily; and it is at once very instructive as to the age, and very creditable to it, that he was on the whole its favourite author.

Of the same flight, so to speak, as Shakespeare and Jonson, there continued through most of our period Chapman and Dekker, who have been spoken of earlier; while the plays of Marston, who had figured chiefly as a poet and satirist, belong almost wholly to the earlier part of the time. Chapman, an Oxford man, and a very great man of letters, was one of the oldest of the later Elizabethans, being seven years older than Shakespeare and Marlowe, fifteen or sixteen older than Ben, and not more than five or six younger than Spenser himself; while he lived well on to the reign of Charles the First. But his dramatic work, including the strange, but in parts splendid series of French plays on Bussy d'Amboise and connected subjects, dates from before 1620, and in some respects is as characteristic as

any work of the day. In his plays Chapman (whose work as a poet and translator will be again touched upon later) exhibits perhaps to the full the unequal and undigested character of the time. But his atmosphere is magnificent, and it is by their atmosphere that the writers of this time and of all times are to be chiefly judged. He has the "brave trans-lunary things," the contempt at once of mere

commonplace and mere fashion, the learning which, if it can never find absolutely complete expression, does not obscure genius, and redeems insufficiency in other ways. *The Revenge of Bussy d'Amboise* and *All Fools* are things as imperfect as

Chapman.



GEORGE CHAPMAN.

(From his "Whole Works of Homer," 1616.)

they can be, and yet as little to be surrendered for perfect things of a lower kind as anything ever was.

Dekker.

Dekker is the complement of Chapman, with whom, as with Jonson and Marston, he was conjoined in a series of now inextricable literary friendships and quarrels. Chapman was a scholar and a ripe one; Dekker is not known to have had any education. Chapman had a rugged obscurity and a native force tending to extravagance as his chief gifts; Dekker combines sweetness, which is never cloying or merely sentimental, with a curious limpidity and fluency of diction. He

wrote, so far as we know, no poems of note, save the charming lyrics inserted in his plays; but his prose is a sort of manual of the lower London life of the times of Elizabeth and James; and his best plays, *Old Fortunatus* and *The Honest Whore*, exalt pathos, which is never maudlin or conventional, to nearly its highest pitch. A parallel contrast between Dekker and Dickens would be very instructive; I do not know that it has ever been drawn.



DEKKER DREAMING.

(From "*Dekker his Dreame*," 1620.)

Marston.

Marston was a much less attractive person. It would seem that his literary experiences as satirist and poet in the last decade of the sixteenth century, as dramatist in the first of the seventeenth, were but an episode in his life, and that he subsided for many years into the position of a quiet country clergyman. There is something not discordant with this in the extreme violence and gloom of his chief dramatic work, whether we take his tragedies *Antonio and Mellida* and *Sophonisba*; or his chief comedies *The Malcontent* and *What You Will*. But enough may have been said of them already.

It is hard, in so brief a space as that which is here available, to do justice to a school so numerously attended as the dramatic school of this time, even putting aside the numerous

men of one play, and the still more numerous plays of more or less unknown men. Only allusion can be made to Day and Tourneur, persons of faculty which in any other day would have been far more than ordinary. But Webster, Heywood, and Middleton in the first, Massinger and Ford in the second half, must not lack some brief notice. It is, indeed, a sufficient indication of the extraordinary strength of this period that men like the author of the *Duchess of Malfi*, of the *Changeling*, and of *A Woman Killed with Kindness* should be relegated to the second line, with possible doubts in some not ignoble minds whether they ought not to be in the third. I have no such doubts. The *White Devil* and the *Duchess of Malfi*, Webster's masterpieces, have a quality which is unmistakable. We shall never have it again, though we may have as good (not very soon, I think) in different kind. The claim of Middleton to all but supreme rank rests mainly on the characters of Beatrice-Joanna and her lover De Flores in the *Changeling*; but it is supported by much splendid tragedy in the *Mayor of Queenborough*, *Women beware Women*, and *The Witch*, and by about a dozen comedies of excellent life and bustle. As for Heywood, one of Lamb's chance phrases, half-paradox, half-generous hyperbole, has diverted the general attention from his real merits. We may argue *ad infinitum* what a "prose Shakespeare" may be, and what the rank of a prose Shakespeare would be. But no one who takes the trouble actually to read Heywood's plays (it is no mean task, though we have, according to his own account, but a small fraction of what he wrote) can fail to entertain a feeling of something like awe at the capacity of the hacks of literature in those days.

Minor
Play-
wrights.

All the writers hitherto mentioned did their best, if not their whole work, in the first half of the period—as did two of the very greatest whom, for an object, I keep to the last. But there remain two others to be noticed, who, though both were Elizabethan proper by birth, are not known to have written anything that now exists till after 1620. These are Massinger and Ford, names coupled early by accident, but inoffensively and perhaps irrevocably. Massinger was a dependent of the Pembroke family, an Oxford man, and from documents, apparently a playwright as early as 1614. But

Massinger
and Ford.

The Virgin Martyr, his earliest extant, and perhaps his greatest play, did not appear till eight years later. His theatre is considerable and of very great excellence, though he has been, on the whole, less of a favourite than he deserves by reason of the glorious play just noticed (even if, as seems certain, Dekker had a hand in it), *The Unnatural Combat*, *The Duke of Milan*, *The Roman Actor*, and other great tragedies, with such a pair of comedies, or tragi-comedies (not to mention others) as *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, and *The City Madam*. On the other hand, John Ford, a Devonshire gentleman, who though a diligent writer did not apparently write for bread, has perhaps had, intense as was his somewhat narrow talent, praise enough for *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, *The Broken Heart*, and *The Lover's Melancholy*. He could play on certain strings a note almost heartrending in its passion and pathos; but he knew not life as a whole.

Beaumont
and
Fletcher.

The most popular, and perhaps the most noteworthy dramatic authors of this half-century—for Jonson's fame was rather as poet and man of letters generally, and especially as a convivial centre and leader to men of letters younger than himself—were two who have not yet been mentioned, though the longest-lived of them died when several of those who have been mentioned had yet many years of life and work before them. These were the “Dioscuri of English letters,” as they have been termed with excusable pedantry—John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont. Both were of respectable, and Beaumont of distinctly gentle, family. Both were University men; Oxford contributing Beaumont (the younger and more short-lived by a decade at each end), Cambridge Fletcher, who himself died at fifty. Beaumont's early death can only have given a bare ten years for the actual collaboration, and Fletcher is asserted to have subsequently worked with others or alone. But the identity of colour in the nearly half a hundred plays which commonly go by the joint names is very remarkable and scarcely to be explained unless on one of two hypotheses—either that almost all the plays were more or less sketched while the pair worked together, or that Fletcher's admittedly more creative and exuberant genius took such a “ply” from the critical influence of his friend as

never wholly to lose it. Even the work of Shakespeare is scarcely more remarkable for combined volume and variety than this immense theatre; and though it cannot be said that even their best play approaches the average of his, though their construction is looser and more facile, their thought and phrase less superior, and their characters, above all, less eternally human, yet *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *A King and No King*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The False One*, *Thierry and Theodoret* surpass anything out of Shakespeare for combination of poetry and acting merit. Also, what is peculiarly noticeable about Beaumont and Fletcher is that they seem to have hit the taste of the English theatre-going public not merely for a time; they were as popular after the Restoration as before, and their best plays at any rate held the stage which almost all their contemporaries had lost, until the time, within living memory, when, by the oddest of changes, the Elizabethan drama was driven from the boards almost at the very moment when it was taken down from the shelves.

In the pure poetry of this period, and especially of its earlier and better time, not a few names already celebrated as dramatists meet us; and a few who have been already noted and quoted as authors in prose to some extent. The remarkable after-growth, sometimes called "Caroline" poetry, hardly belongs to us at all. Herrick, its perhaps greatest name, published nothing till later. Vaughan survived far into the post-Restoration age, and Cowley some way into it. Crashaw, Lovelace, and Suckling bore their fruit on the very eve of the civil convulsions. But all these belong partly to our time, and in those who belong wholly to it it is so rich that perhaps on the whole no forty years of English poetry can equal it. To it belong the earlier poems of Milton, in which some judges have seen a sufficient indication, if not a full development, of his entire poetical power; the greater part, if not the whole, of the strangely contrasted verse, now stiff, now limpid, of Jonson; the latter part of the wonderful poetry of Donne; the Spenserian school of the Fletchers, of Browne, and of Wither; a great supplement of the lyric work for music of which so much has been said in the last chapter, and of which Campion was the chief exponent, though only *primus* among many

Poetry.

pares. Here, too, belongs the mass of the astonishing lyrical work which is scattered about the drama of the time; here the stately translation or imitation of Sylvester; the statelier harmony of Sir John Davies; the curious and interesting Anglo-Scottish school of Drummond and Stirling; the early regularity of Sandys, a master of the decasyllabic couplet long before Waller or Denham; not a little of the work of Waller, Denham, and Cowley themselves; the cheerful miscellanies, in verse, sometimes pretending to something higher, of Randolph, of Cartwright, of Corbet; the sacred strains, anticipatory of the "Christian Year," of George Herbert; the perfection so utterly different in spiritual tone and temper, so alike in purely intellectual characteristics, of Carew and Crashaw. The list tends to grow breathless; and yet any lover of English poetry, whose studies or tastes have led him to pay some attention to this period, will feel at once that it is imperfect, and will feel even more strongly that the summary enumeration of the particulars has done them a gross wrong only to be repaired at an expense of space impossible here. For our purpose, however, a general pointing out of literary filiation and progress may be more useful than a minute discussion of particulars; and it is indisputable that during this period certain definite literary influences appear in a manner extremely interesting and of remarkable importance as a tell-tale of the literary state of England. With a few outsiders in special lines, such as the philosophical poetry of More and Beaumont, with the further exceptions of the immortal names of Drayton and Daniel (each keeping life and pursuing composition for considerable parts of our time, and both founding families of historical poetry), and with some irregulars and eccentrics such as every literary period of any fertility provides, the poets of this time are dominated, willingly or unwillingly, by three influences—the influence of Jonson, the influence of Spenser, and the influence of Donne.

Spenser was dead before our time began, but his influence was extremely powerful in his own university, where it directly produced the Fletchers, Giles and Phineas, whose great poems, "Christ's Victory" and the "Purple Island," would certainly never have been written but for the "Faërie Queene"; and it

was scarcely less powerful, though its evidence was a little more concealed, in the two chief Oxford poets who made their appearance during James's reign—William Browne and George Wither. All four, and their master perhaps more than any of them, had in turn an influence on the mind, not less receptive than original, of John Milton.

But Milton also owed much to Ben Jonson, whose "learned sock" he praised, and from whom he drew more than, in the general ignorance of Jonson's masques, is likely to be recognised.

Jonson's
Influence.

No one, indeed, not his namesake the Doctor, not Dryden, who perhaps came nearest to him in this respect, not Coleridge, not Scott, has ever exercised quite the influence on the literature of England that Jonson did for many years. Great authors have often been rather inaccessible persons; and sometimes they have been rather unamiable ones. It can scarcely be said that extreme amiability was one of the features of Jonson's own character; but he had this saving point of idiosyncrasy, that he was not in the least



Photo: Goupil & Co
JOHN MILTON.

(By permission of the Duke of Buccleuch.)

afraid of, or averse from, "the younger generation." A man of extremely convivial and decidedly undomestic turn, he was accessible to everyone at the taverns he frequented, and besides the group of "Sons," which is famous, and included all the more noted men of letters of the second half of our period, he seems to have had a wide circle of *protégés* and clients extending, as later traditions more or less dimly indicate, all over the kingdom. This semi-Falstaffian gift of tavern-kingship, however, could not have availed of itself to give Jonson the position he held. But his more solid claims to literary respect were unusually great. Although it is very doubtful whether he belonged to either University in any but an honorary capacity, scholars of the strictest academic sufficiency like Selden, Farnaby and others, admitted his scholarship; he was the honoured friend of Raleigh and Bacon; and it is im-

possible for any reader, himself possessing the slightest tincture of classical learning, not to recognise in every work of Jonson's—be it play, poem, or prose—the presence of a reading which never obscured, though it sometimes stiffened and hardened, the creative faculties of the author. If the English literature of the first half of the seventeenth century is, as I verily believe it to be, the most learned in point of general diffusion of learning that any half-century of any country's history can show, it is no doubt not wholly due to Jonson. But he himself was a capital example of the spirit that was abroad, and his influence largely served to extend that spirit more widely.

**Donne's
Influence.**

The third influence, the most intangible of all, was in a way the mightiest, because it expressed a more subtle tendency of the time. No authentic edition of Donne's poems issued from the press till after his death, and the dates at which any of them were published are very uncertain. During the greater part of that section of the period during which he was alive, he was known as a grave divine of an intensely melancholy cast of thought and a rather stern tone of preaching. Yet Jonson, his own contemporary probably to a year, who was not wont to be specially kind to his own contemporaries, thought him "the first poet in the world in some things"; his verses are known to have been multiplied freely in manuscript; and his influence over the whole poetry of the period, whether direct by way of imitation and inculcation, or indirect by way of early expression of what was in the air, was unsurpassed. Donne set the example of what has since been called the "metaphysical" style, the style of remotely far-sought and elaborately overwrought conceits, similes, and metaphors. Donne showed (much, it is said, to his own confusion and repentance later) how an almost unlimited voluptuousness of thought and imagery might be combined with a transcendental refinement of passion such as no author had even thought of before. Donne not merely shared, but carried farther than anyone else, the mastery of vague, suggestive, musical language. And Donne, as no one had ever done, and as no one has ever quite done since, utilised this music to accompany strange issues of mystical thought, remote descants of spiritual meditation, such as were previously unknown to poetry, English or other, before his time. And all the greater as well as some of the lesser of his

1642]

contemporaries followed him, now, like Crashaw and Cowley and Cleveland and the youthful Dryden, to unbelievable excesses of comparison in a sort of new Euphuism; now, like Carew, to daringly licentious sensuousness; now, like More and Joseph Beaumont, to poetical scholasticism; but always (where the imitator was strong enough) to that strange indefinable combination of music in phrase, melancholy in sentiment, and mystical passion in thought, which has been already referred to. It is this, even more than its learning, that is the note of the period in poetry, and it sounds everywhere in modes and measures tempered by the qualities of the individual. It may be purely pious as in Herbert, philosophical as in Vaughan, decently and ethically passionate as in Habington, ecstatic as in Crashaw, exquisite and dainty as in Herrick, chivalrously or mockingly amatory as in Suckling and Lovelace; but almost everywhere (whether accompanied by the Jonsonian learning, or, less frequently, by the Spenserian allegory) it inspires the poets of the time before the Rebellion. And if we may not—though with such words as Jonson's, spoken to Drummond as early as 1618, we surely may—attribute it directly to Donne's influence, we may, at any rate, say that Donne was the earliest, the most original, and in a way the greatest exponent of it.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century promised to usher in a new era of rural prosperity. No improvements in agricultural practices were possible until the land was, to some extent, enclosed. Under the Tudor sovereigns this indispensable work had been performed in the midst of much agrarian suffering and discontent (Vol. III., p. 480). Large estates were more common; open village farms had, in considerable districts, given place to compact separate freeholds or tenancies; agrarian partnerships, in which it was no man's business to be energetic, were giving place to that individual ownership which is the most powerful incentive of enterprise. The fall in the value of precious metals had raised the prices of agricultural produce; corn and meat found better and dearer markets; under the stimulus of improved profits arable farming became more prosperous, and the practice of laying down tillage land to pasture was checked. The increased wealth of landlords showed itself in the erection

R. E.
PROTHERO.
The Advance
in Agriculture.

of Jacobean mansions; tenant-farmers and yeomen freeholders were growing rich. Only the agricultural labourer still suffered. His wages remained stationary, while the necessities of life grew dearer (p. 180). He was more secure of employment, and in that way only was his lot changed for the better.

New
Sources of
Produce.

Much of the land had changed hands during the past century, and the infusion of new blood into the ownership of the soil introduced a more adventurous spirit into farming. A crowd of agricultural writers followed in the train of Fitzherbert, Tusser, and Googe. Gervase Markham and Leonard Mascall instructed husbandmen in the art of extracting wealth from the soil by improved agricultural practices and by the more scientific

"government" of horses, oxen, cattle, and sheep. John Crawshay, who describes himself as "a plaine Yorkshire man," writes about horses, and warns his readers against buying horses in the market, "for many men will protest and swear that they are sound, when they know the contrary, only for their private gain." From Italy Rowland Vaughan introduced new methods of irrigation, and of treating



GOING TO MARKET (MS. Egerton 1269).

water-meadows. Markham and Lawson wrote upon orchards and gardens, in which were now accumulating such rich stores of agricultural wealth as turnips, carrots, and potatoes. Even the smaller profits of farming were not neglected. John Partridge had already written upon the keeping of poultry, and had given recipes for keeping their natural foes at bay. "Rub your poultry," he said, "with the juice of Rue or Herbe grass, and the weasels shall do them no hurt; if they eate the lungs or lights of a Foxe, the Foxes shall not eate them." Nor were bees neglected. Butler and Levett discoursed on their "ordering," and the profits which were to be derived by the skilful bee-keeper.

During the same period men like Sir Richard Weston were

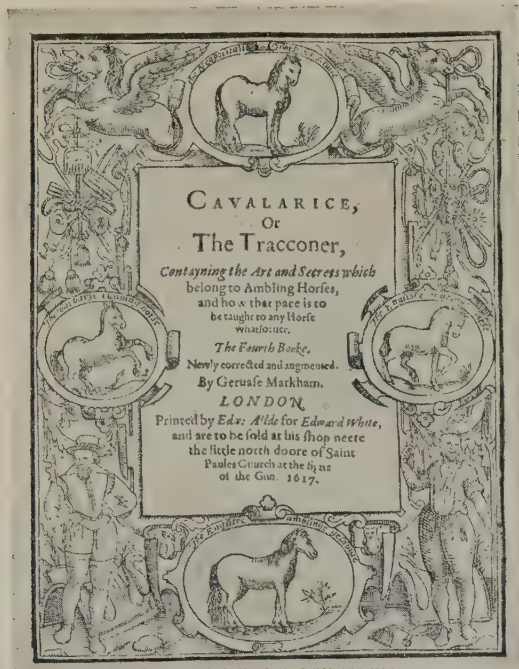


FRUIT TRENCHERS OF THE JACOBAN PERIOD.

(British Museum.)

introducing crops which were destined to change the face of English farming, Weston had formerly served as ambassador in the Palatinate, and when he returned to England he brought with him the methods practised and the crops cultivated in the Low Countries. At Sutton, in Surrey, he introduced the turnip and artificial grasses—destined to be the pivots of English farming—into field cultivation. Oliver Cromwell, it is said, also

New
Crops.



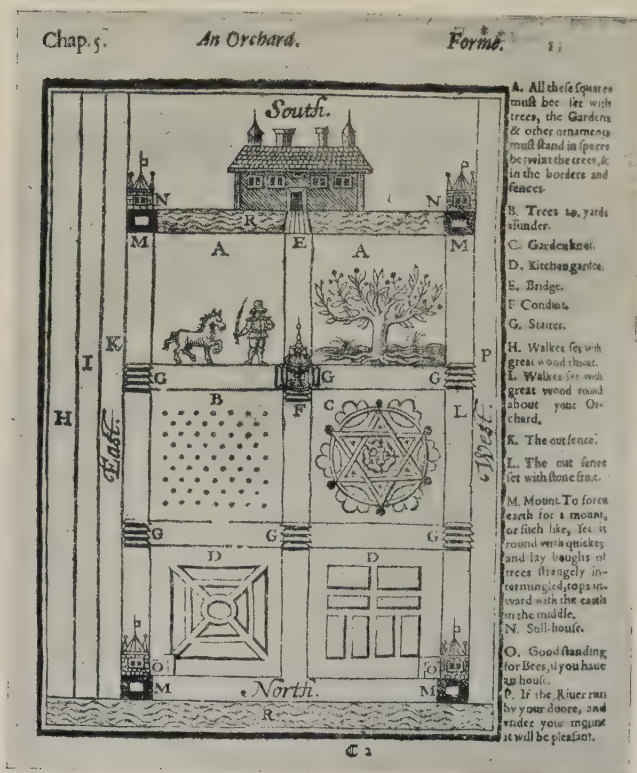
TITLE-PAGE TO GERVASE MARKHAM'S "CAVALARICE," 1617.

experimented in the new agricultural practices. Weston's experiments were afterwards published by Samuel Hartlib, a friend of Milton and a pensioner of Cromwell. Another agricultural writer of the period who deserves mention is Gabriel Plattes, if only because of the support which his career afforded to those practical farmers who despised agricultural writers. Like Tusser, he failed as a farmer, and finally died shirtless and starving in the streets of London.

In the experiments of Weston, and in the writings of Hartlib,

Plattes, and others, were stored new materials for agricultural wealth. But before the new practices could be successfully adopted it was necessary that the soil should be extensively drained. With the need comes the man.

The necessity and the methods of drainage were also ably



HOW TO LAY OUT A GARDEN.

(G. Markham, "New Orchard and Garden, 1638.")

Drainage. discussed by Walter Blith, whose treatise, the first of its kind, is interlarded with quaint Biblical quotations, which show the temper of the times. As the Puritans of the day sought the authority of Scripture for their political constitution, so the Puritan farmer justifies his advocacy of drainage by references to the Bible. "Can the rush," he asks, with Bildad, "grow without mire, or the flagg without water?" In another way, also, Blith's

1642]

"English Improver" is significant of the era of the Civil War. He turned his reaping-hook into a sword, became a captain in the Roundhead army, dedicated the third edition of his work (1652) to the Right Honourable the Lord-General Cromwell, and adorns it with a portrait of himself arrayed in full military costume.

Blith advocates a national scheme for drainage, in which landowners should be compelled to join for "the Commonwealth's advantage." When he wrote (1641), the condition of the fens had already excited the attention of the Government. It was now that the great work of draining and reclaiming the Eastern Counties was for the first time seriously undertaken on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the task.

The Great Level of the Fens extended into the six counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Seventy miles in length, and varying in breadth from twenty to forty miles, it comprises nearly seven hundred thousand acres. Now a richly cultivated, fertile district, it was, in the seventeenth century, a wilderness of bogs, pools and reed-shoals—a vast morass, from which here and there emerged a few islands of solid earth. Six considerable rivers—the Ouse, the Cam, the Nene, the Welland, the Glen, and the Witham—carry the upland waters through this wide stretch of flat country towards the sea. Whenever the rains fell the rivers were flooded and overflowed the country for miles around. Nor was this all. It was only in maps that they reached the ocean at all. Two causes principally contributed to convert the district into a morass. The outfalls of the rivers were silted up so that their mouths were choked by many feet of alluvial deposit. Twice every day the tide rushed up the channels for a considerable distance, forcing back the fresh water, and converting the whole country into one vast bay.

Reclam-
ation of
the Fens.

Efforts had been made by the Romans to reclaim these flat levels, and their "causey" is still in existence. In the palmy days of the great monasteries of Crowland, Thorney, Ely, and Ramsay isolated districts were drained and richly cultivated. In the reign of Henry II. (1154) a contemporary writer speaks of the district round Thorney as "a very Paradise in pleasure and delight; it resembles heaven itself—it abounds in lofty trees, neither is there any waste place in it; for in some parts there are

apple trees, in others vines, which either spread upon the ground or run along poles."

Morton's
Leam.

But this description only applied to the islands on which the great monasteries were situated. The rest of the country still remained an unproductive bog, the habitation of amphibious husbandmen, and the resort of robbers and marauders. No important effort was made to reclaim the district till the time of Cardinal Morton, Bishop of Ely, in the reign of Henry VII. (Vol. II., p. 629). A cut, forty feet wide and four feet deep, which runs from Peterborough to Wisbech, still bears the name of "Morton's Leam," and is still of importance, both in drainage and navigation. Other local efforts were made, but they were for the most part ineffective. In spite of individual enterprise, the general character of the district grew so deplorable that it attracted the attention of the Government. The Great Level, with its 700,000 acres, was then described as being, and having been, "for the space of many ages, a vast and deep fen, affording little benefit to the realm, other than fish or fowl, with overmuch harbour to a rude and almost barbarous sort of lazy and beggarly people." The district was surveyed, commissioners and courts of sewers were appointed, and an Act was passed for the drainage of the Great Level in 1600. In 1606 a local Act for the improvement of the fens was passed, under which a portion of the Island of Ely was reclaimed. As their recompense the adventurers in the undertaking received two-thirds of the land thus recovered from the water. Still, however, the work was not begun on any large scale. Still it was true, as a local writer wrote of the country nearly two centuries later, that

"Nothing grew beneath the sky
But willows scarcely six feet high,
And osiers, barely three feet dry."

"C.H.," who, in 1629, urged upon the public the "Drayning of Fennes," gives an unattractive picture of the district:—"The Aer Nebulous, grosse, and full of rotten Harres; the Water putred and muddy, yea, full of loathsome Vermine; the Earth spuing, unfast, and boggie; the Fire noysome turfe and has-socks; such are the inconveniences of the Drownings."

The real work of reclaiming the Great Level dates from 1630.

In that year Francis, Earl of Bedford, with thirteen gentlemen adventurers, undertook to drain the Cambridgeshire portion of the district, on condition that they received 95,000 acres as their recompense. New channels and drains were made to carry off the surface water, existing courses were scoured and straightened, banks were raised to restrain the rivers within their beds, new outfalls into the sea were cut, numerous dams and sluices were erected to keep out the tides and land-floods. The

The
Earl of
Bedford's
Scheme.



THE FENS UNDRAINED.

(Dugdale, "History of Imbanking and Drayning Divers Fens," 1662)

work was carried on with vigour, and though it was of necessity partially suspended during the Civil War, it proceeded under the Commonwealth. Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, its director, reported in 1652 that "wheat and other grains, besides innumerable quantities of sheep, cattle, and other stock, were raised where never had been any before."

Similar works were carried on in other parts of the Great Level during the reign of Charles I. Thus Deeping Fen, Lindsey Level, East and West Fens, the Wildmore and Holland Fens, Ancholme Land, and the Isle of Axholme, were all attacked by

improvers, who were to receive as their reward large portions of the reclaimed lands. In several instances the drainage was so far completed that the adventurers claimed and obtained their rewards. But from various causes the water regained its hold on the country. In some cases the work was only partially finished; in others it was so inadequately executed by persons whom Walter Blith calls "mountebank engineers, idle practitioners, and slothful, impatient slubberers," that it broke down under the first wet season. In others the windmills, which were used to raise the water of the interior districts to the level of the main river, could not cope with a flood. In others the works were destroyed by the fenmen, and were not restored till the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century.

Local
Opposition.

While the reclamation was in progress complaints were rife of the "riotous letts and disturbances of lewd persons." Nor was the opposition of the inhabitants at all unreasonable. In the arrangements made for the reclamation of the fens no compensation was made for rights of turf-cutting, fowling, fishing, hunting, and pasture. In the manor of Epworth, for example, there were 13,400 acres and 370 commoners. Six thousand acres were allotted to the commoners and 7,400 to the adventurers. In other manors the land was divided in similar proportions. All over the fen districts there were outbursts of popular indignation. The commoners were called to arms by a Tyrtæus of the fens, whose doggerel rhymes have been preserved by Dugdale in his "History of Imbanking and Drayning."

"Come, brethren of the water, and let us all assemble,
To treat upon this matter which makes us quake and tremble;
For we shall rue it if 't be true the Fens are undertaken,
And where we feed, in fen and reed, they'll feed both beef and bacon.

"The feathered fowls have wings to fly to other nations,
But we have no such things to help our transportations.
We must give place (oh, grievous case !) to horned beasts and cattle,
Except that we can all agree to drive them out by battle.

"Wherefore let us entreat our ancient water nurses
To show their power so great, as to help us drain their purses;
And send us good old Captain Flood to lead us out to battle.
Then Twopenny Jack, with scales on's back, will drive out all their
cattle."

The Civil War was the opportunity of the fenmen. They

The Work
interrupted.

destroyed the mills and embankments, filled up the drains, levelled the enclosures, burned the crops before they were reaped, and restored whole tracts of reclaimed country to their previous state of morass. In the neighbourhood of Hatfield Chase, near the Isle of Axholme, every day for seven weeks men armed with muskets drew up the flood-gates so as to let in the flowing tides, and kept the sluices shut at every ebb, threatening that they "would stay till the whole level was well drowned and the inhabitants forced to swim away like ducks." At Epworth a petition of the adventurers states that 74,000 acres of reclaimed land had been wasted, the houses demolished, the ploughs burned, the ploughmen beaten and wounded. The industrious colonies of French and Flemish Protestants, who had been settled on the adventurers' lands, and who there introduced with success the useful practice of "paring and burning" the boggy lands, found their houses burned, and their crops destroyed or depastured by the cattle of the commoners. It was not till after 1714 that the riots which the reclamation had caused ceased to disturb the peace of the country, and by that time their object was in a great measure achieved, and the vast swamps and wet marshes of the fen district were restored to the ague-stricken inhabitants in their primitive unproductiveness.

G. TOWNS-
END
WARNER.
The Growth
of Manu-
facture.

THE first forty years of the seventeenth century saw an expansion of trade. Men's minds turned towards progress. New inventions of Elizabeth's days were developed. There were continual applications for patents; and if the "hydraulic cabinet for sending men to sleep," "the improved fish-call," and others, seem frivolous, yet the inventors must have thought there was something in their ideas, or they would hardly have paid the Crown sums of money for patents. And some of the inventions were eminently valuable in idea. Patents were taken out for processes for smelting with pit-coal: some form of gig-mill was used, and there is mention made of a great loom, by which one person could do as much work as ten. But in attempting to get accurate statistics about the trade of England we meet with difficulties. The statistical school of England, which Petty was to inaugurate, had not begun. So, though there

1642]

is here and there a statement about the output of a trade, yet they are rare, and in many cases not to be relied upon, for the computator had seldom any better resource than a guess. And there is another reason for distrusting trade estimates. When we find them, they are generally the outcome of trade quarrels. The object of trade writers in meeting attacks is usually to minimise the extent of their trade. The weavers objected to the linen-men on the ground that woollen fabrics were being superseded; or the charcoal-smelters quarrelled with those who were trying to use coal; or the wood-mongers were jealous of the charcoal-men. In each case both parties had an interest in representing their own trade as languishing through the prosperity of their opponents, while the opponents retorted that they themselves were not half so prosperous as was made out. Each new trade had to show that it was not harming any established trade, or it was likely to be restrained by Act of Parliament or Proclamation. Trades that were looked on with the most favourable eye were that old favourite the woollen trade, and generally those that produced articles which Englishmen would otherwise have had to import. Such industries were considered to act favourably on the balance of trade, and so were commendable.



BRASS OF THOMAS HAMON, RYE, SUSSEX.

(From a rubbing in the possession of
T. D. Atkinson, Esq.)

State
Interfer-
ence.

Governmental interference with trade was not necessarily unpopular. Common fairness condemned novelties which threw Englishmen out of work, or trades which weakened England's power. It was foolish "to change substantial goods for half-penie cockhorses." It was better to have timber for ship-building than iron furnaces in Sussex; it was unfair that sawyers should be thrown out of work by a Dutch saw-mill worked by the wind, with which human muscles could not compete. Similarly with the monopolies and patents. Restricted to their proper uses, they were well enough (p. 191). Certain manufactures, such as gunpowder, were best kept in responsible hands. If a man hit upon a valuable invention, or introduced a new trade, it was right that he should profit. Unfortunately for the Crown, monopolies and patents could only be properly applied either to small trades, or to trades in their infancy, and there was little money in these. The temptation to make a larger revenue by applying them improperly was too great for the Stuarts' empty pockets.

Aliens.

The ideas of the time come out clearly in the regulations about foreigners and in the Trade Commission of 1622. There was always a jealousy of foreigners in England, but within certain limits the Government stood their friend. A proclamation of 1622 provides that strangers who had not served an apprenticeship were not to sell by retail, and in gross only at fairs or markets of the town where they dwelt. Handicraftsmen were to continue their trades, but those without apprenticeship were to pay a fine to the king. Any strangers, however, who instructed the English people in new and profitable trades might use their trade freely for ten years. The Crown protected the manufacturers of "bays" and "says" at Colchester from local interference. The act was humane, but the motive was expediency rather than humanity. At the head of the Commission of 1622 was the President of the Privy Council, and included were the Presidents of the Court of Wales and of the Council of the North; the Master of the Rolls was the most prominent of the remaining forty-five members. The proclamation appointing it sets forth that there were complaints about the cloth trade, that men were out of work, that rents were left unpaid, and that customs were diminishing: that there was need for a commission, as trade is variable and there is constant

need for alterations in policy. Apparently, then, the commission was intended to be more or less permanent. As no report of its doings has ever been discovered, it seems that very little was done. But the articles themselves are interesting. The Commissioners are to inquire why wool has fallen in price, and how to prevent the export of it and also of yarn, fullers' earth, and wood-ashes, how to bring to England the wool from Scotland and Ireland, and how to avoid a glut in the



THE STEELYARD.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

market when it came; how to simplify the laws about wool; how to put a stop to faulty manufacture; how to improve the arts of dyeing and dressing, and how to cheapen dye-stuffs. More generally, they are to inquire if the societies and companies, particularly the Merchant Adventurers, really hampered the woollen trade. Then come the ideas of the time: how to make bullion more plentiful; how to preserve a right balance of trade by attending to exportation; how to maintain the Navy and the herring fishery; how to prevent importation in foreign bottoms; how to make strangers spend their money

in England, and not carry it away with them. These are all commended to the Commissioners. They are the current views of commercial policy. The articles then deal with the linen trade: Why, they ask, has the Eastland corn-trade declined, so that the company's merchants no longer import flax and hemp? Our linen trade should be encouraged by planting flax. Native commodities generally should be improved; and the Commissioners are finally bidden to consider how best to make clothiers prosperous and English cloth fashionable and popular. Throughout there is one idea—that of making the country prosperous. But the prosperity is to rest on the accumulation of bullion by the balance of trade; on the strength of the kingdom through the encouragement rather of established trades than of new ideas; on home industries rather than on foreign commerce; on the well-being of all rather than on the wealth of the individual.

Industries:
Woollen
Manu-
facture.

Of all English industries the woollen industry was the largest and the most favoured by Government. The following woollen fabrics are mentioned: bays, says, felts, woollen broad-cloths, half-cloths, kersies, dorens, penistons, friezes, rugs, perpetuanos or serges, narrow pin-whites, frizados, bombazines—a considerable variety. Although the woollen trade was scattered pretty generally over England, three principal districts may be distinguished—East Anglia, the western counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and the West Riding. In East Anglia had settled the so-called new drapery of Elizabeth's time. Norwich manufactured bombazines which were the rage in James's reign, and russets. The village of Worstead gave its name to the peculiar yarn with the long fibres, now so familiar. Colchester had thriven on the trade of bays and says introduced by the immigrant Dutch, so much so that "Bays and Says" was the old toast of the town at the municipal oyster feasts. So important was the trade that during the siege of 1648 Fairfax considered the complaint of the blockaded manufacturers, and an offer was made on behalf of the Parliament to buy what they made during the time. The western counties were, as they still are, the district where the finest cloth was made. The Gryffin Mill, at Stroud, dates from 1600. Bristol attempted to rival Colchester bays. Thomas Westcote, in "A View of Devonshire in 1630," gives an account

1642]

of the woollen industry as he knew it. Exeter serges were celebrated; Tiverton and Crediton, Barnstaple and Torrington, were all centres of cloth-weaving, where kersies, bays, and frizados were made; Totnes was the only place that made narrow pin-whites; Ottery St. Mary made mixed coloured kersies. Crediton, he says, gave rise to the proverb, "As fine as Kirton thread," "for it is very true that 140 threads of woollen yarn spun in that town were drawn through the eye of a tailor's needle, and," he adds, to substantiate his story, "both are to be seen at the shop of Mr. Dunscombe,



Photo: W. & T. Guiness, Leeds.

THE CLOTH MARKET, LEEDS, 1640.

(Since destroyed.)

at the sign of the Golden Bottle." If, as is presumable, the hundred and forty were drawn through together, the fact is enough to open the eyes of a modern tailor and of his needles also.

The West Riding was just becoming of importance. Wakefield made coarse drapery; Halifax, Keighley, and Hunslet, a town then of 200 houses, were also engaged in the trade. Leeds, by 1626, appears to have had a considerable trade, for in that year R. Simpson and Christopher Jackson, and "many thousands of poore clothiers," complained about the conduct of the aldermen of the town in the matter of incorporation. James I

had a royal mill at Leeds, which he sold for £3 11s. 8d. The Yorkshire cloths were of somewhat inferior quality, but throughout there are repeated proclamations against bad manufacture. Two statutes in James's reign and proclamations in 1630, 1633, 1635, and 1638 deal with the matter. The main object was to ensure a supervision of the cloth made by searchers of cloth, or by the aulnager, and a certification of its quality by official seals. Among the objectionable practices were boiling the wool first with galls, the use of false weights, the unevenness of size in cloth and yarn, the "greatness and goutiness" of which deceived masters, owing to the best being on the top. Gig-mills, forbidden in the reign of Edward VI.,



AN ALDERMAN (MS. Egerton 1269).

had been revived under the title of mosing-mills, for dressing with teazles; these were to be taken down. Cloth worked "squally, baudy, rowy, holely," and the like was to be marked as faulty. The chief difficulty was with the practice of stretching and thickening the cloth. White cloths, exported principally by the Merchant Adventurers, were not to be stretched, though coloured cloths might be stretched one yard and "half a quarter" in

breadth. Teignters were forbidden; these were weighted bars attached to the lower part of the cloth to stretch it. John May, on being made Aulnager, put forth a pamphlet apparently to caution the weavers that he was not to be trifled with. He is strong against the mixing of wool with floss and thrums, or the use of long broad-cloth thrums, which caused so many knots that the cloth went all in holes. He denounces another practice of using inferior warp in the centre of the cloth, and then having the roll so tightly tied up that only the edge could be inspected. Oatmeal and tallow were used for thickening; he had known Devonshire kersies stretched from twelve yards to fifteen, and then the marks of stretching taken out with hot irons and the surface covered with floss. Dishonest

1642]

work does not seem to belong exclusively to the days of modern competition.

It is worth notice that the term clothier did not mean the same over England. In Yorkshire it meant weaver; in Gloucester and Wiltshire it meant the man who supplied the yarn to be made up, bought the cloth when manufactured, and found a market for it. Westcote found the Devonshire trade without much system of any kind. He said that first the gentleman farmer or husbandman brings it to the market, where it is bought by the comber or spinster, who brings it back the next



WINDING OFF SILK.

(From N. Geffe, "*The Perfect Use of Silkworms*," a translation from Olivier de Serres, 1607.)

week as yarn, when it is bought by the weaver. Next week sees it return as cloth, when it is bought by the clothier, who sends it to London, or to the merchant, who, "after it has passed the fuller's mill and sometimes the dyer's vat, transports it." It seems that dyeing was not well done in England, or at any rate could be better done in Holland. The royal policy brought considerable distress upon the trade, and created a great deal of dissatisfaction and confusion, particularly in the West of England.

The silk trade, which was thought by one contemporary in silk. 1681, probably erroneously, to employ as many as the wool

trade, had not yet become a serious rival. James I. tried experiments on the rearing of silkworms and growing of mulberry-trees, which proved a failure owing to the coldness of the climate. Mr. Burlamach, by direction of the king, brought from abroad silk-throwsters, dyers, and broad-weavers. It was better, if English men and women must buy silk, to buy silk of home manufacture. The variety of silk fabrics is considerable. In a proclamation of 1638, we find tissues, gold or silver stuffs, tuftafaties, plushes, velvets, damask, wrought grograines, stick-taffities, ribbons, laces, silk-mohair, barratine-silk, figured-satins, ferret-ribbons, rash-silk, loom-work, fugeratta, and a stuff called black and white. A prohibition was directed against making goods of cotton mixed with silk, but the chief difficulty of the Government was over the dyeing. No one was to use slip alder-bark, filings of iron, "or other corrupt and deceitfull matter." The silk was to be dyed Spanish black, and not London black, and the gum was to be boiled off before dyeing, though later an exception was made in favour of hard silk which had to be dyed "on the gum." The following list of dyes shows the capabilities of the time:—"Sadd colours the following: liver colour, De Roy, tawney, purple, French greene, ginger lyne, Deere colour, orange colour, and besides light colours and graine colours. No galls were to be used, nor any gumme, sirropps, or deceitfulle stuff." It was in the silk business that the "great loom" before mentioned was employed. This was prohibited, also "all engines that shall make at the same time more than one sort of laces or ribbons." It seems that the capabilities of machinery were not clearly understood. Although Richelieu believed that the French silks were superior to all others, yet the French prohibited the import of English-made silk stockings.

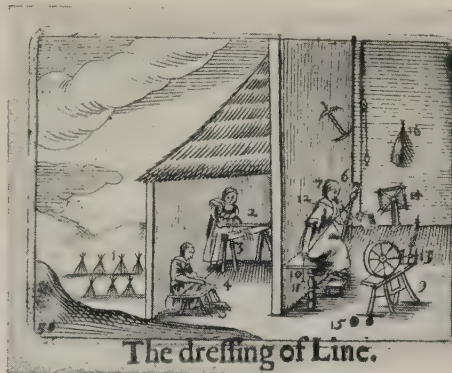
Cotton.

During this period the cotton trade in Lancashire was just springing into existence. Cottons are mentioned before the Stuarts, but it is doubtful if they were in reality anything but woollens. Fustians seemed to have been originally woollens, and Westcote includes the cottons of Pilton among the woollen fabrics, though there was a saying, "Woe unto you Piltonians that make cloth without wool"; and in 1638 cottons are mixed up with broad-cloths, kersies, and other woollens in a proclamation. But probably in the reign of James I. true cotton

was introduced, for Lewis Roberts wrote in 1641 of Manchester, "they buy cotton-wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and work the same into fustians, vernillions, and dimities, which they return to London," whence they were often re-exported whither they had come. Bolton was also a cotton manufacturing town, and there is mention of cottons made in Scotland.

The linen business of these times is mainly connected with Strafford's work in Ireland. Roberts speaks of Manchester as a weaving-town, buying linen-yarn from Ireland and exporting it when woven to Ireland again to be sold. The Commission of 1622 wished to encourage linen, and there is a proclamation of Charles I. forbidding the burying in linen, and prescribing that woollen fabrics were to be used instead. But it is evident that the English industry cannot have been at all important, or Strafford would never have fostered the trade in Ireland

Linen.



FLAX DRESSING.

(J. A. Komensky's "*Orbis Sensualium Pictus*"; translated by Hoole, 1659.)

He tells us he discouraged the woollen industry "lest it trench on England," and encouraged linen, causing to be sown £1,000 worth of flax-seed, setting up six or seven looms, importing workmen from Holland, and believing that he could undersell France or Holland 20 per cent. The country was suited to flax, and the women bred to spinning. He thought that if by the blessing of God his work was successful, it would be the greatest enriching of the kingdom that ever befell it. He recommended purchasing the licence of linen yarn from its holders, and so fostered the industry that, had it not been for the rebellion, it might have spread widely over Ireland. In regard to the woollen trade, which he suppressed because it interfered with that of England (p. 273), it must be remembered in mitigation

of judgment that he did not suppress the old frieze industry, in which the native Irish alone were engaged; and that in considering the economic effects of his policy we are not entitled to assume that the domestic cloth industry would have stood the competition of machinery in Ireland in the next century better than it did in East Anglia. It must not be concluded, therefore, that but for Strafford's tyranny the Irish peasant might have spun and woven for himself a prosperity so enduring as to resist even the effects of the industrial revolution.

Coal and
Iron.

The coal and iron trades can be conveniently taken together. During this period coal was being increasingly used as house fuel. This was only either in the neighbourhood of pits or in places close to the sea, so much so that coal in London was generally called sea-coal. This use of it met with approval, as it spared the timber which was thought so valuable for ship-building. The Newcastle Corporation made difficulties about export, only allowing certain persons to engage in the trade and requiring the payment of duties. Coal was put among the monopolies in 1637, but the grant was revoked the next year, and the price in London fixed at 19s. per chaldron in winter and 17s. in summer. The wood-mongers (who also sold coal) were accused of enhancing the price and giving short weight, by the device of shrinking the sacks with wet. One of their members defended them, saying that it was impossible to keep the sacks dry in wet weather, and further that dry sacks would not fit plially to the back. He said the dearness of coal was due to the excise of 4s. the chaldron, to the hazard of the sea, to a rise at Newcastle, and to the disuse of "gift coals," whereby they used to have "four, five, nay eight to the score." He recommends punishment of engrossers, the fixing of a market either at Billingsgate or the Pool, and the compelling of each ship-master to give coals to the poor. The use of coal for smelting was much desired. Dudley had a patent which was excepted from the Monopolies Act of 1624. Another was granted a few years later for smelting and fining iron, tin, salt, lead, and making bricks, tiles, and lime with coal. This was much opposed by the charcoal-men who supplied the furnaces of Surrey and Sussex, the centre of the trade, with charcoal. But they, in turn, were supposed to do great damage. Norden states that in Sussex there were near one hundred and forty hammers and

1642]

furnaces for iron, and in Surrey three or four glass-houses, and that they spent every twenty-four hours "two, three, or four loads of charcoale which in a year amounteth to 'an infinit quantitie as you can better account by arithmetique than I." The building of new furnaces near London and in the south-eastern counties had been restrained by statute in 1581 and 1585. The blast in use was generally a hand-blast, though a water-blast is mentioned. Neither was strong enough to use successfully with coal. Salisbury, Woodstock, and



A SUSSEX IRON FOUNDRY, 1636.

(From a fireback in the Lewes Museum.)

Godalming were the most formidable rivals to Sheffield. This town had 2,207 inhabitants, 725 of whom were not able to live without charity. The town was in the hands of the Lord of the Manor, who leased the furnaces to manufacturers. The cutlery were incorporated in 1624. They had a monopoly of knives, sickles, shears, and scissors and subsequently they claimed to include scythes and files. Seemingly they were not very busy, for they had two compulsory trade holidays in the year, lasting each about a month, one in August and one at Christmas. Wire was manufactured of Osmond iron, superior for wool-carding to

Cutlery.

what was made abroad. Iron when cast into bars, sows, or pigs, was stamped by Government surveyors. On the whole, the industry, though considerable, was not spreading fast; nor was it desired that it should do so while charcoal had to be used.

J. E.
SYMES.
Trade and
Finance;
Prices.

DURING the first half of the seventeenth century the rise in prices continued to be among the most important of the social changes. This rise was still due to a great extent to the importation of bullion, especially of silver, but the growing population helped to force up the cost of necessities, and the succession of bad harvests between 1630 and 1637 aggravated the evil during those years. When, however, we examine the figures more closely, we find that the rise was neither as rapid nor as steady as it had been during the reign of Elizabeth. The following table illustrates this in the case of the first four Stuart decades, in relation to a number of typical commodities. Pepper is included as an example of certain foreign luxuries the price of which actually fell, in consequence of the extension of our foreign trade, especially with the East Indies:—

	1603-12.			1613-22.			1623-32.			1633-42.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Wheat	1	15	3½	1	17	9	2	3	7½	2	1	2
Barley	0	19	5	1	0	8½	1	2	2	1	4	2¾
Malt	0	19	10	1	1	7½	1	4	2	1	6	0¼
Oats	0	11	10¾	0	13	5¼	0	13	8¼	0	15	11½
Beans	0	19	2	0	17	11½	1	3	3¾	0	19	6
Peas	0	17	5¼	1	2	1½	1	1	11	1	0	0½
Flour	2	6	2¾	2	7	1¼	2	9	2	2	12	9
Oxen (highest)...	6	9	8	6	18	5	7	6	7	9	9	8
Horses (highest)	11	16	2	13	2	0	15	1	8	13	18	10
Sheep	0	13	8	0	16	2¼	0	16	0¾	0	12	2
Candles, per 12 lb.	0	4	0¾	0	4	6¼	0	4	4¾	0	4	11½
Charcoal	1	4	11½	1	5	6¼	1	4	11½	1	9	11¼
Table Linen (medium), per 12 yards...	0	16	11½	0	17	11¼	0	17	7¼	0	18	10¼
Cloth (common), per 12 yards	1	4	2	1	9	11	1	6	5	1	19	5
Wrought-iron, per cwt.	1	12	8	1	11	6	1	15	1	2	6	8
Pepper, per 12 lb. ...	1	8	2½	1	6	10½	1	2	9½	1	4	4

It will be noticed that in the two last decades there was an actual decline in the prices of several of the commodities in the above table, and this would have been more marked but for the

God blesseth thine labours,
 With plenty and favour.
 He will quicke and kinde
 Reward thou shalt finde.



Pricke not at thy pleasure,
 But in thine brother's measure.
 Be watchfull and wise
 In your duellie to rise.



BAKERS AT WORK (MS. Add. 34,605).

bad harvests already referred to. Misselden, writing in 1623, evidently does not recognise a general rise in prices. On the contrary, he asserts that "commonly one commodite riseth when another falleth"; and when Parliament appointed its Standing Commission on Trade in 1622, it was to consider, among other matters, the causes of and remedies for the fall in the price of wool. Broadly speaking, we may say that the general rise of prices ceased about the middle of the seventeenth century, and had been seriously checked in its third and fourth decades.

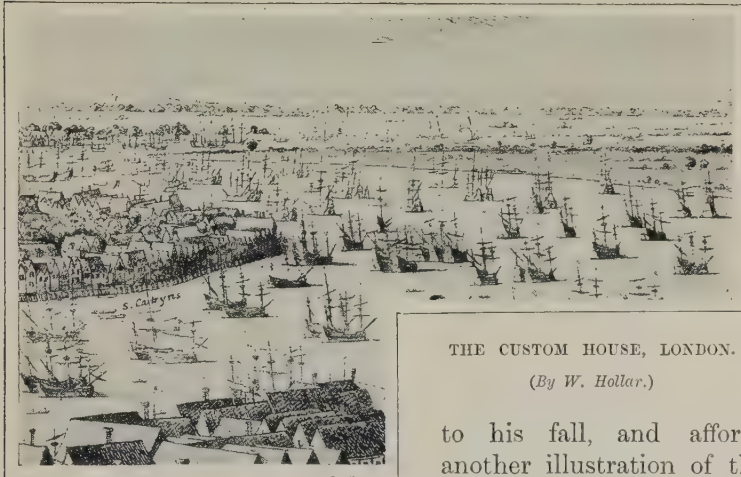
The
Reaction
and its
Results.

The political consequences of this change were very important. We have seen that the rise of prices had immensely increased, and enriched the middle classes; but, when prices became stationary, profits naturally fell. A great stimulus to industrial enterprise was removed, and a widespread discontent among the commercial classes ensued. It can scarcely be questioned that these fluctuations of prices in the seventeenth century help to explain the opposition to the Stuart kings and the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution. For it was just those classes that advanced in wealth and importance through the rise in prices, and then found their prosperity checked, who played the chief part in the resistance to Charles I.

The
National
Finances.

An important political result of the rise of prices in the first half of the seventeenth century was the consequent derangement of the national finances. The revenue came in those days mainly from the rent of Crown lands, and from various feudal and other dues and fines, most of which were fixed in amount. The rise in prices implied that the Crown must pay higher wages and salaries, and also higher prices for all it needed, whilst its income was not proportionally increased. It was only by the strictest economy that Elizabeth had been able to carry on her administration, and the early Stuarts were not economical. Moreover, their position was further aggravated by a further rise in prices. Hence the necessity of seeking new sources of revenue. The country was not accustomed to any but the lightest taxes, and so Parliament, apart from its other causes of hostility to the king, was seldom disposed to assent to pecuniary demands. Accordingly, James and Charles were constantly searching for means of raising money that should not require the consent of Parliament. James relied especially upon customs duties, the right of levying which he claimed to be part of the

Royal prerogative, as a mere regulation of trade. His view was sustained by the Court of Exchequer in the celebrated "Bate's Case" (1606; p. 3). The volume of foreign trade was, however, as yet so small that no considerable income could be derived from this source, and James tried next the device of selling honours—such as baronetages and peerages. Charles introduced several fresh expedients. After 1629, more especially, he raked up old laws, and claimed fines from those who had broken them, and enforced the payment of dues that had long been in abeyance. The opposition he thus roused contributed



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON.

(By W. Hollar.)

to his fall, and affords another illustration of the bearing on political history

of such economic facts as fluctuations in prices.

The same economic facts may, perhaps, help also to explain the increased agitation against the monopolies, and the privileges of the trading companies. The rise in prices made outsiders more anxious to share in the consequent profits of branches of trade that were monopolised. The subsequent fall perhaps aggravated their discontent, though it made these profits less considerable. We find, however, that as early as 1604 the House of Commons passed Bills abolishing many of the restrictions on membership of trading companies. Their aim was to put all English merchants in an equally favourable position, provided that they would contribute their share of the expenses necessary for the security of trading in far-away and often comparatively

The
Attacks
upon
Mono-
polists.

barbarous countries; and it is interesting to find the supporters of these Bills maintaining a "natural right" of Englishmen to trade where they pleased. But the peers, as was to be expected, were more anxious about vested interests than about "natural rights." They threw out the Bills which the Commons had passed, and, perhaps, thereby contributed to the progress of Dutch commerce. For it seems clear that the system of privileged



THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS' HOUSE AT MIDDELBURG.

(From an old print in the Middelburg Museum.)

companies, which may have been necessary in the early stages of a trade, was, in the long run, unfavourable to energy and enterprise. The companies relied too much on their monopoly; and young merchants with the originality, insight, and organising power which would have won success found themselves excluded from the chief branches of foreign trade, or compelled to act as "interlopers," and in defiance of the legal rights of the established corporations. Accordingly, we find most of the companies

decaying. The trade with Russia and the whale fisheries passed almost completely into the hands of Dutchmen, Danes, and Hamburgers; and the English Levant trade similarly languished under the depressing influence of the "company" system. Even the East India Company, destined though it was to have ultimately so brilliant a career, made little way in its first twelve years, and comparatively little in its first half-century.

The Portuguese had a century's start over the English in the direct sea trade to India. Their distinguished mariner, Vasco da Gama, had landed at Calicut as early as 1498, after sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. For the next six years the Portuguese had much



CALICUT. (Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," 1573.)

fighting and little trade in India; but after 1504, their commerce began to grow so considerably that the Republic of Venice attempted to suppress the Portuguese traders, from a feeling that they were becoming formidable rivals in the trade between India and Europe, which had hitherto been carried on by an overland route and to the great profit of the Venetian Republic. But the Portuguese held their own, and steadily built up a great trading empire in the East. In 1510 they took Goa, which became the centre of this Eastern trade, which included products from Cochin China, Japan, and the East Indian Islands. Every year a Portuguese fleet sailed from Lisbon, and returned after a long voyage laden with Eastern produce which was sold in Lisbon, largely to Dutch merchants, who carried it far and wide to other European ports. But the annexation of Portugal by Philip II. of Spain was followed by a rapid decline of Portuguese influence and commerce in Asia. Philip was already overburdened with the cares of a vast empire and the effort to maintain his European supremacy; and his Dutch enemies were not slow to seize the opportunity of extending their own trade and ruining that of Spain. They were further stimulated by the closing of Lisbon against them in 1591, by which action they were driven, either to lose the important share which they had hitherto had in the Oriental trade, or to attempt to deal directly with Asiatics. They chose the latter, and their success soon excited the emulation of Englishmen.

The East
India
Company.

In 1599 certain English merchants petitioned Elizabeth that they might be incorporated in a Joint Stock Company; and, in the following year, their charter was granted. It gave the company a monopoly of all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magellan, whether with Africa, Asia, or America. The company was to be exempt from the payment of customs for four years, and was given permission to export bullion. Their first trading expedition sailed in 1601. It consisted of five ships laden with bullion, iron, broad-cloth, cutlery, and glass. Between 1601 and 1620 the company sent in all seventy-nine ships, of which eight were lost at sea and twelve captured by the Dutch. The goods brought from India were sold at six times their original cost; but the expenses were so great that the profits were small—at least for those days, when

money lent on good security was expected to bring in ten per cent. interest.

This comparative failure was chiefly due to the rivalry of the Dutch. In 1602 the great Dutch East India Company was formed by an association, on a national basis, of the Dutch traders engaged in the traffic with Asia. While England gave a monopoly to a few merchants, Holland organised her trade on a system which enabled any Dutch merchant to take a share in it. The Dutch company, moreover, was governed by representatives of the chief towns in the Republic; whilst the management of the English company was in the hands of a narrow clique. These facts may partly explain why the English made at first so little progress as compared with the Dutch. In 1612 the charter of the English company was modified, and in 1617 subscriptions to the company's capital by the general public were invited. Among those who thus got an interest in the company were fifteen peers, thirteen titled ladies, eighty-two knights (including judges and Privy Councillors), and over eight hundred other less exalted personages; but this extension produced, at first, little more than the means for fighting the Dutch. So far as the mainland of India was concerned, the fighting was not of a very serious character. Both companies aimed merely at the establishment of factories for commercial purposes. But in many of the East Indian Islands it was very different. In these the struggle was for dominion; for here the natives were generally too barbarous or too weak to provide protection for the strangers from Europe. Here, the merchants were obliged to conquer before they could trade with any safety or regularity; and it happened that some of these islands were practically the only places where nutmegs and cloves could be procured. Some of the islands had been conquered by the Portuguese; but these latter had been driven out by the Dutch, who then extended their dominion over other islands, and in each case they insisted on having a monopoly of the trade. The English merchants were naturally enraged to find these fertile islands closed against them, and they clamoured for free trade. The Dutch answered, with some plausibility, that they had borne the expense of driving out the Portuguese, of conquering natives and building forts, and that they had a right to the fruits of their labour. In 1613, and again in 1615, the English made vigorous efforts to break down the Dutch mono-

Dutch
Competi-
tion.

The
Struggle
for the
Spice
Trade.

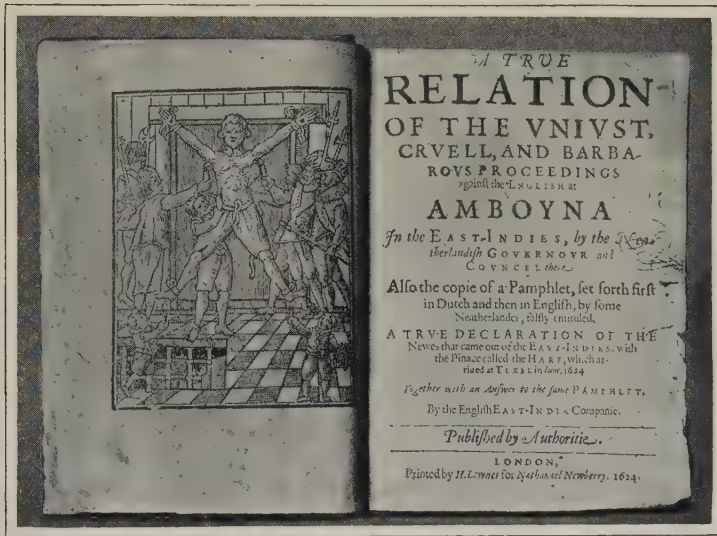
poly; but they only succeeded in establishing themselves in the small island of Puloway, which the Dutch had not occupied, though they claimed it as part of one of their groups. The Dutch thereupon sent an expedition against the island, but were driven back by natives armed with English weapons, who proceeded to invite the English to occupy the island. The English commander, however, did not feel himself strong enough to fight the Dutch, and he made an agreement with them, under which they were to retain possession of the island, but to allow the English a share in the trade. The authorities in London repudiated this agreement, and sent out six ships to support their merchants. Meanwhile, another island, Pelaroon, had been similarly occupied by the English; but on this occasion the claims of the Dutch were forcibly resisted. Neither Government approved of this fighting, and Commissioners were sent over from Holland to effect an arrangement with our country. After much discussion, it was agreed that the monopoly should be divided. The English company were to have one-third of the cloves and nutmegs from the islands which the Dutch claimed, and one-half the pepper from Java. In the other ports of the Indian Ocean both companies were to trade freely and independently. The Portuguese were to be kept in check by a fleet composed of an equal number of Dutch and English vessels, and the expenses of the defence were to be met by an export duty at the Eastern ports (1619). But, while this agreement was being slowly arranged in London, the subjects of the negotiating Governments were flying at one another's throats in the distant seas. Eight of the English company's ships were captured by the Dutch, and some of the natives suffered severely for their friendliness to the English.

The
English
in Persia.

In 1622 the English company was also engaged in a war with the Portuguese. This grew out of their attempt to open up a trade with Persia. The Shah would only sanction this if the English would join him in an attack on the Portuguese settlement at Ormuz. The attack was successfully carried out, to the great indignation of the Spanish Government, to whom the Portuguese had now become subject. James and Buckingham took advantage of the Spanish remonstrance to extract £20,000 from the company for themselves. Spain was too busy and too decadent to avenge the wrongs inflicted upon her subjects in

distant seas ; but with Holland it was different. The active and powerful Dutch company was well able to protect itself, and to inflict injuries upon the English. In 1623 a terrible massacre took place at Amboyna. The Dutch had, or professed to have had, suspicions that the English intended to attack the fort of Amboyna. They therefore seized some of the servants of the English company, and tortured them in order to make them confess ; and, having thus extorted from them an acknowledgment of the supposed plot, they seized all the other English

The
Amboyna
Massacre.



THE ATROCITIES AT AMBOYNA.

(By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House.)

subjects they could lay hands upon and put them to death (February 11). It seems scarcely credible that the Dutch suspicions could have had any foundation. The mere handful of English at Amboyna could hardly have hoped to take the fortress, even if they had formed such a plot ; and their execution, on the sole authority of the Dutch, was a plain violation of treaty engagements. But England was at this time raging against Spain, and not disposed to quarrel with Spain's enemy ; and the indignation aroused by the news of the Amboyna massacre was allayed by promises that those who were

responsible for it should be brought to trial. The subject was for some years a matter of negotiation between the two Governments (p. 368).

The East
India
Company
Unpopular.

The East India Company was not very popular in England. Private traders complained of its monopoly, and the fact that they exported a considerable amount of bullion excited much opposition to their proceedings. In 1628 they thought it necessary to put out a "Petition and Remonstrance" in answer to their critics, in which they pointed out that they were able to sell Eastern goods more cheaply than those who used the older route through Turkey, and that the spread of their trade caused an expansion of the revenue from customs. As to the charge of exporting bullion they boldly argued: "It is not the keeping of our money in the kingdom which makes a quick and ample trade, but the necessity and use of our wares in foreign countries, and our want of their commodities."

Its
Progress.

In 1624 Morris Abbott, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was elected governor of the East India Company, and after this he was re-elected again and again. Under his able guidance the company steadily advanced. The factory at Surat was now the headquarters of the English trade, whilst the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz had given it a secure position at Lepalian. On the Coromandel coast the English erected a strong fort, "able to defend itself against any sudden assault by the poor black men of that country." The Portuguese rivalry in the neighbourhood of Surat was practically ended by a crushing defeat in 1630; but the Dutch continued to compete fiercely with us in almost every branch of the Eastern trade. Among other difficulties was the constant necessity for bribing the great Mogul and various minor potentates, as well as powerful people at home. King Charles, as a patron of literature, expected the company to supply him with Arabic and Persian manuscripts; and in 1640, when his financial difficulties had become very serious, he compelled them to sell all the pepper they possessed for royal bonds, which were to be redeemed in five half-yearly payments. The queen's favour had to be won by gifts of native cloth in gorgeous colours, and other Oriental luxuries. Moreover, the company's servants did not a little private trading, continually exceeding the limits prescribed for them. They seem also to have been excessively addicted to

1642]

drinking, gambling, and other dissolute practices, in spite of the company's regulations, and of the efforts of the clergy sent out to preach to them. Nevertheless, the Indian trade steadily grew, and in 1640 the Rajah of the Carnatic allowed the English to build the fort at Madras, which then took the place Surat had previously held as headquarters of the company's trade.

Returning to England, we must next speak of the movement against domestic monopolies in the reign of James I. Elizabeth's promise to discontinue the practice of granting patents was not very strictly observed; and her successor does not seem to have considered himself in any way bound by the late queen's promises. The regulation of trade was then regarded as part of the royal prerogative; and as Elizabeth's Parliament had not embodied its hostility to monopolies in a statute, James might fairly claim that in continuing to grant patents he was acting within his legal rights. So, far, indeed, as these monopolies were means of adding to the revenue, they were in effect a tax on the community, and thus violated the general principle that taxes could be levied only with the consent of Parliament. But this principle was far from being established at the accession of the Stuarts, and we can, therefore, hardly blame James for using his prerogative, though we may condemn him for using it unwisely. It will here be convenient to distinguish between the different motives which were at the bottom of the different grants of monopolies:

Movement
against
Monopolies.

(1) The increase of the revenue was seldom, if ever, the sole purpose of a grant, but it was generally one of the objects aimed at. In almost all cases this method of raising money was an objectionable one, even apart from the fact that it lay outside the jurisdiction of Parliament.

(2) The enrichment of favourites was an even more objectionable motive for the granting of monopolies. The favourites often knew nothing of the trades to which their monopolies applied. They often used their power in an oppressive and short-sighted way; and it was undoubtedly this element of the monopoly question which roused the greatest hostility to the whole system.

(3) The desire to control the materials for war explains the monopolies of gunpowder, saltpetre, and ordnance; an anxiety to accumulate bullion probably partly explains the

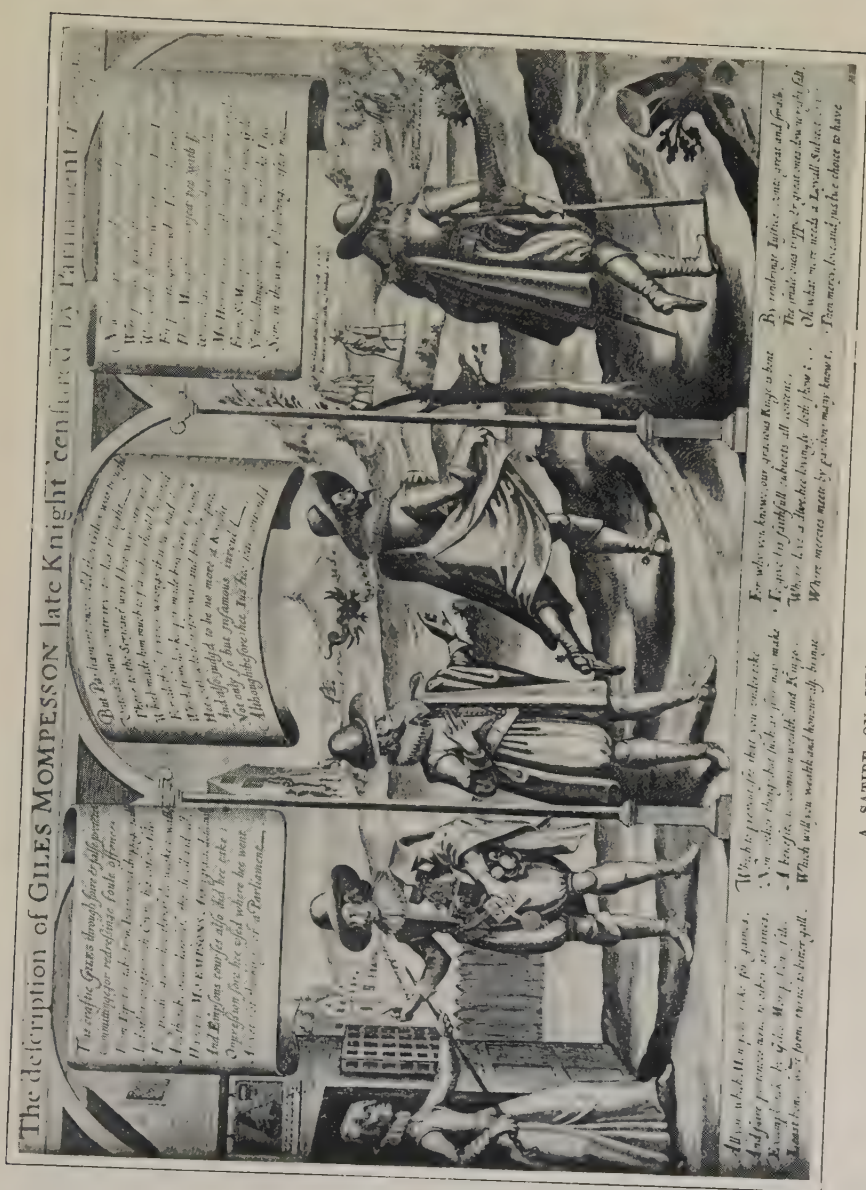
attempt of James to keep in his own hands the monopoly of the manufacture of gold and silver thread. In these cases monopoly was based upon mistaken economic theory.

(4) The desire to reward inventors and to encourage the introduction of new industries was the chief motive of many of the grants, and these objects at least were reasonable. We still recognise the wisdom of giving patents to successful inventors; and it may, in some cases, have been wise to encourage men to make expensive industrial experiments by the offer of a temporary monopoly. For instance, we find that the development of iron works involved a dangerous destruction of woods and forests in the early part of the seventeenth century, since the iron was all smelted with charcoal (p. 179). A man named Sturtevant undertook to use coal for the smelting, and a patent was granted to him in 1612, but in spite of his monopoly the method was unremunerative. Lord Dudley (p. 178) then tried another method, for which he also obtained a patent, and this was fairly successful. It was obviously to the national interest that these experiments should be tried, but neither of the inventors would have cared to incur the expenses, or run the risks involved, without a hope of at least a partial monopoly.

Licences
for Inns.

(5) Some patents were given in order to restrict or regulate trades which involved dangers to public morality and order. The most interesting of these was the patent for inns (1617). Under it Mompesson and two other persons were appointed Commissioners, with authority to give or refuse licences for inns. The theory was that some supervision and restriction would thus be established in the public interest, and that the Treasury would gain by the payments made for such licences. As a matter of fact, most of the money went into the pockets of the Commissioners, and the supervision was merely a means of extortion. Keepers of disorderly houses easily obtained licences, while respectable people were kept out of the trade unless they would comply with the demands of the Commissioners. It will be noticed that in this case the principle was not altogether unlike that on which we still act. The abuses were due to the machinery by which the licences were granted, and the profits diverted from the public purse.

From the above analysis it will be seen that the system of



The description of GILES MOMPESON late Knight, confound by Parliament.

The Whig
 The Whig, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

The Tory
 The Tory, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

The Jacobite
 The Jacobite, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

The Monopolist
 The Monopolist, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

Whig
 Whig, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

Tory
 Tory, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

Jacobite
 Jacobite, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

Monopolist
 Monopolist, through his long life,
 Has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;
 He has been a constant friend to Liberty;

A SATIRE ON GILES MOMPESON, MONOPOLIST.

monopolies cannot be regarded simply as a means of raising money without Parliamentary sanction, nor merely as a means of enriching favourites, nor as wholly based upon mistaken ideas upon the subjects of what we now call Political Economy. It was all these and something more—a provision against real as well as fancied dangers, and, in some cases, a praiseworthy encouragement of business enterprise and invention. But the British public did not make the needful distinctions; and a general outcry against all monopolies drove Elizabeth to promise a general withdrawal of them. The difficulty and inconvenience of a universal withdrawal led to an almost universal retention of them. Then, under James, the system grew through financial pressure, favouritism, and an exaggerated belief in the royal wisdom and the capacity of Government to direct industry wisely; and then the outcry arose again. The Addled Parliament (1614), though it passed no statute, extorted from the king a fresh promise to revoke monopolies; but the promise was broken, fresh monopolies were granted, and, when Parliament was again convoked (1621), the unpopularity of the monopoly system made an attack upon it a convenient means of expressing the general hostility to the Government. Mom-
 person fled from England; while several of those who had held patents were proceeded against and punished. It was not, however, until the Parliament of 1624 that monopolies were legally abolished, except in the cases of:—(1) new inventions, for which a fourteen years' monopoly might be granted; (2) charters of trading companies; (3) certain municipal privileges; (4) certain specified industries, such as the making of glass and of gunpowder. By this Act the legal position of monopolies was completely changed. The patents of Elizabeth and James, however oppressive, had not been illegal. Under Charles it was quite different. His patents were less harmful in themselves; but they were plainly unconstitutional ways of raising revenue—more unquestionably so than ship money, or than tonnage and poundage, raised without the consent of Parliament.

Abolition
of Mono-
polies.

Exceptions.

Economic
Progress.

On the whole, the early Stuart period seems to have been one of steady progress in material prosperity. The population of England had grown greatly during Elizabeth's reign, partly owing to the extensive immigration of foreign refugees, partly

owing to the opening up and development of industries. Under James there were about five million people in England and Wales. In spite of the failure of many of the trading companies, our foreign trade steadily increased. The imports and exports amounted in 1613 to £4,628,586, and had risen in 1622 to £4,939,751. Domestic industries also developed; and though the check in the rise of prices in the reign of Charles I. struck a blow at profits, it probably benefited the labouring classes. Certainly, the next century (1640–1740) saw a decided rise in real wages. James I. must have at least doubled the English currency; and the comparative slowness of the rise in prices is only to be accounted for on the assumption of a greatly increased demand for money, growing out of the increase in population and the still greater increase in the production of commodities. The reduction of the legal rate of interest from ten per cent. to eight per cent. indicates that the supply of loanable capital was increasing even more rapidly than the demand for it. No doubt the legislators were to some extent actuated by mistaken ideas of morality and expediency; but it is improbable that the legal rate differed much from that which the conditions of demand and supply would have fixed, if these had been untrammelled by law.

In the distribution of wealth among the different counties, there were some interesting changes. If we compare the assessment for ship-money in 1636 with that made by Henry VII.'s Commissioners in 1503, we find that at the earlier date Middlesex was only twice as rich as the second county (Oxford) in proportion to acreage; while, in 1636, Middlesex was more than eleven times as rich as Hertfordshire, which then stood second in wealth. This points of course to the fact that London had progressed greatly—not only absolutely, but relatively to other parts of the country. No doubt, in 1503, London had recently suffered severely from a fire; but this cannot account for more than a very small proportion of its relative progress during the intervening years. Next to the advance of London, the most notable change in the assessments is the progress of the Home Counties north of the Thames. Hertfordshire rose from the fourteenth to the second place. On the other hand, Norfolk, which stood third under Henry VII., was twenty-fifth under Charles I. Its old practical monopoly in the manufacture

The Dis-
tribution
of Wealth

of cloth had been completely lost. The northern counties were distinctly the poorest under both assessments. With the exception of Cumberland, Lancashire stood absolutely the last among the counties, in wealth per acre, in the assessment of 1636.

W. A. S.
HEWINS.
Pauperism
and the
Poor Laws.

So far the history of the poor laws has been a record of successive attempts by Parliament to deal with poverty by remedial legislation, culminating in the great Act of 1597, which, with some few changes and additions, was re-enacted in 1601. The Act of that year, the "Old Poor Law" of Elizabeth, has never been repealed, and still forms the basis of the English system of poor relief. With the accession of James I., therefore, we enter upon a new period in the history of pauperism. For a long time there were no changes in the law of an important character. But the manner in which it was interpreted, and the methods from time to time adopted to carry it into effect, had a marked influence on English social development. The poor law at this time was part of a great legislative system which affected, in a greater or less degree, all classes of society, all economic interests (III, p. 751). When dealing with pauperism, the Government looked for remedies not to the poor law alone, but to the enforcement of numerous statutes regulating trade and industry, wages, and prices. There was at this time none of that distrust of State interference which characterised the nineteenth century. "Vested interests" had not become so wide and comprehensive as they are now, nor were they treated with that consideration which is sometimes demanded as a right in modern times. In the seventeenth century justices of the peace would occasionally suppress all the ale-houses within their jurisdiction.

The State
of the
Poor.

During the period covered by this section, especially in 1622-3, 1630-1, and subsequent years, much distress prevailed, not only amongst the poorer classes, but amongst the artificers and workpeople who, in good times, would be considerably above the level of poverty. It is not easy to determine whether the condition of the people as a whole was better or worse than it was during the latter half of the sixteenth century. But the continued rise of prices, the commercial crises through which the country passed, and the numerous

1642]

bad harvests caused widespread distress. Even artisans in regular employment could not have maintained a high standard of comfort. In the poorer quarters of London there were "great numbers of people inhabiting in small rooms" . . . "heaped up together and in a sort smothered" who "must live by begging or worse means."¹ The Commissioners for Buildings were constantly taking measures against the dividing of small tenements, and overcrowding.² The food of the poor appears to have been no better than their habitations. In the times of scarcity which recurred with such distressing frequency, barley was their "usual bread corn."³ Provision was also made for supplying them with peas and beans, but this was difficult, because people could not "forbear feeding sheep and swine with peas."⁴ In a contemporary ballad a poor man in Essex goes to gather acorns in a wood, intending to roast them for his children. There he fancies he sees the devil, who gives him a purse full of gold, but when he reaches home he finds nothing but oak leaves. He then loses his reason and kills himself.⁵ We are told that the poverty of the poor caused them to break down the hedges of the enclosures for firewood. "For, saith the poor, although they want victuals, that is too deere for them to get by theire honest labour, yet they will not perish for want of fire, so long as it is to be gotten."⁶

Widespread poverty and vagabondism, and universal laxity on the part of the justices of the peace and the local authorities, gradually brought about a highly centralised administration of the poor law and kindred statutes. In 1605 the justices were directed to assemble once between the general sessions of the peace, and see to the execution of the statutes of labourers, and those concerning alehouses and tipplers, the assize of bread and ale, rogues, setting the poor on work and apprenticing their children."⁷ In 1614, however, the Lord Mayor of London initiated vigorous measures for reforming what he found "out

Methods of
Checking
Pauperism.

¹ Proclamation of Elizabeth, 1602.

² "Remembrancia of the City of

London," pp. 41-51. ³ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1622-3), p. 455.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 545, 546.

⁵ "A new Ballad, shewing the great misery sustained by a poore man in Essex, with other strange things done by the Devill. To the tune of The rich Merchant man" (Roxburghe Ballads, I., 286).

⁶ "New directions of experience by the authour for the planting of timber and firewood," 1615, p. 4. ⁷ Hamilton's "Quarter Sessions," p. 69.

of order" in the City. He freed the streets of a swarm of loose and idle vagrants, providing for the relief of those who could not get their living, and keeping others at work in

A new Ballad, shewing the great misery sustained by a poore man in Essex, his Wife and Children : with other strange things done by the Devil.

To the tune of, The rich Merchant man.



A poore Essex man
that was in great distress,
Spoke bitter words his complaint,
in griefe and heavynesse :
Although scarcity and want,
he was oppressed sore,
He could not find his chyliden bread,
he was in extreme poore.

His wylde wife God toot,
being lately brought to bed,
With her poore infants at her brest
had neither drinke nor bread.
A woollull being in
was this the Lorde doth know,
God keep all honest vertuous wives
from fasting of such weare.

His husband deare, she said,
for want of food I die,
Some succour doe for mee provide,
to ease my misery.
The more with many a teare,
most pittyously replyde,
Wile have no means to buy us bread,
wilt that the chyliden crye.

They came about hys round,
upon his coat they hung :
And pittously they made their mane
their litle hands they wung.
He still my boyes, said he,
and He goe to the wood,
And bring some streynes for to roast,
and you shall have some food.

Forth went the woollull man,
a Cows he took with him,
but he wold to him the wooden pound
that he should have to him bring:
And by the way as he went,
met Farmers time as they,
Desiring them for Christ his sake,
to helpe his misery.

Why love to me (he said)
one loafe of Barley bread,
One pint of milke for my poore wife
in Child-bed almost dead :
I wille on my extreme need,
to lend me have no doubt,
I have no money for to pay,
but I wille make it out.

What they in charity sent,
did one by one reply,
We have already lent you more
than we can come well by.
His answere strake his heart
as cold as any stone :
Wilt the wood from thence he went,
with many a grievous groane.

Where at the length (hehold)
a tall man did him meet, (all
And cole-black were his garments
from head unto his feet.
When woetched man (said he)
why dost thou weep so sore (marie
What is the cause thou mak'st this
tell me and I'll be more.

Alas, good Sir (he said)
the lack of some reliefe,
For my poore wife a chyliden small,
his cause of all my griefe :
They lie all like to dead
for want of bread (said he)
Good Sir, for my sake the daye to give
one penny unto me.

Thereby this woetched man
commended himselfe to sell,
He begged an almes and did not know
he askt it of the Devil :
But straight the hellich fiend,
to him replyd againe,
An obvious sinner art thou there,
that dost such want (wiltaine.

Black (the poore man said)
this thing for truth I know,
What I do was lost, yet never man
entered greater woe.

He goodly art doe want,
and need a litle peny thou have,
Yet God will not forsake them quite
but both their states to save.

If thou to faithfull be,
why gress thou begging then e
When shalt be fed as Daniel was,
within the Lions Den,
If thus thou doe abide,
the Ravens shall bring thee food,
As they unto Elias did,
that was in the Wood.

Spoke not a woollull man,
good Sir, the poore man said,
I wille not my fortunes trye,
that are upon me laid :
But rather now I wille
win my wife, and give
One penny for to buy some bread,
my chyliden poore may like.

With that he opened straight,
the fairest parke in sight,
That ever mortall eye beheld,
lit up with crownes full bright,
Wrote the woollull man
the same he woldly gave,
Who very earnestly wold pay,
that Christ his life might save.

Well (quoth the dammed spirit)
goe ease the chylidens sorrow,
And if thou wantest any thing,
com meet me here to morrow :
When home the poore man went,
with cherefull heart and min,
And comforted his woollull wife
with words that were most kin.

THE POOR MAN AND THE DEVIL.

(Roxburghe Ballad.)

Bridewell, "not punishing any for begging, but setting them on work, which was worse than death to them." He dealt severely with lewd houses, "these nurseries of villainy," and the alehouses, where much corn was wasted "in brewing heady

1642]

strong beer," . . . "many consuming all their time and means sucking that sweet poison." He took an exact survey of all victualling and alehouses, and finding more than one

thousand of them, with a total of 40,000 barrels of beer, he reduced their number and limited the quantity of beer they should use. He placed similar restrictions on the bakers and the brewers.¹ We find, by a grant to Edward Grant, citizen and mercer, Robert



IN AN ALEHOUSE.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

Moore, and two others, in 1613, that there was at this time an office of "Surveyor" in London and Westminster for the punishment of vagrants. London and Westminster were divided into four districts — north, south, east, and west—one of which was assigned to each of the grantees, who had an office for the transaction of his business, and kept registers of vagrants and poor persons. Provost-m Marshals were appointed to correct the negligence of constables and other inferior officers. "Secret and sudden searches"



THE CUNNING NORTHERN BEGGAR.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

were to be made in all victualling houses, inns, and other suspected places.² During the first year this measure was followed by satisfactory results, but in 1616, owing, ap-

¹ "Remembrancia," pp. 358, 359.

² *Ib.*, pp. 359, 360.

parently, to the fact that it was considered only a temporary expedient, no provost-marshals were appointed, and the Council ordered that the neglect should be remedied. Orders in Council, commanding the due execution of the laws, were again issued in 1617, and confirmed in 1621.¹ We may also note the decision in 1618 to transport "divers idle young people" to Virginia, where they might be set to work.² But temporary expedients and occasional Orders in Council appeared to be of no avail to bring the local authorities to a sense of their duty, and in 1621 it was decided to make a more determined and persistent effort to secure the due administration of the laws. Accordingly Commissioners were appointed with extensive powers for stimulating lazy and negligent magistrates. Their instructions³ state that the non-execution of the laws proceeds "especially from neglect of duty in some of our justices of the peace and other magistrates, . . . because there are either no penalties or the penalties are too small." The magistrates "hould the subordinate sorte of people in awe," and so no complaints or informations are laid against them. The Commissioners are to look to the administration of "all and every such lawes and statutes nowe in force as any waye concerns the reliefe of impotent poor people, the bindinge out of apprentices, the settinge to worke of poore children and such other poore people as being hable to worke have no stocke or meanes to employ themselves, the compellinge and inforcing of such lazie and idle persons to worke as being of bodies able and strong do nevertheless refuse to laboure, the maintenance, government and well ordering of houses of correction, hospitalls and other places for the reliefe of poore . . . people. Redressinge of misemployment of lands, goods and stores of money heretofore given to charitable uses, . . . and all lawes nowe in force for the repressinge of drunkenness." They were, from time to time, to issue orders and directions, and to adopt "all other good and lawfull ways for executing the statutes." This Commission formed the model for the more famous one of 1631, when the universal distress brought into stronger relief the evils which have already been noticed. Orders for the relief of the poor and for enforcing

¹ Tanner MSS. (Bodleian Library), ccxliii., 136.

² "Remembrancia,"

pp. 361, 362.

³ Tanner MSS., lxxx., 175.

other statutes were issued, and elaborate measures were taken for fulfilling the objects of the Commission. The justices of the peace were to report monthly to the sheriffs, the sheriffs to the judges of the several circuits, and the judges to the Commissioners. The returns of the justices seem to indicate that these efforts of the Government to reform the administration of the law were not without success.¹

It is said that for seven years before 1621 no collection for the poor had been made in many parishes, especially in country towns.² "Negligence hath overthrowne that famous worke"—the Poor Law. But failure to levy a rate was not always due to the indifference or laziness of the responsible authorities. The rate was in some districts very unpopular, and we hear of riots against it.³ The increased charge for the relief of the poor in cities and towns, owing to the immigration of paupers from the rural districts, where the statutes were neglected, led to the introduction of a Bill in the House of Commons in 1621, making the laws of settlement more stringent.⁴ Difficulties also arose from the variety of purposes for which separate rates might be levied. In addition to the rate for the relief of the impotent, there might be another for providing a stock, and a third for houses of correction, while some local authorities appear to have relied on voluntary gifts for setting the poor on work, not always without good results.⁵ The churchwardens and collectors of St. Swithin's parish in London, in 1624, were ordered by the Lord Mayor to levy a rate equal to half a year's poor rates to provide a stock for setting idle and vagrant people to work in Bridewell Hospital,⁶ and the inhabitants of Southwark were rated to defray the charges of the provost marshals already noticed. There also appears to have been some uncertainty as to the meaning of the term "inhabitant," and the mode of assessment. Resistance to a rate "blending lands and goods"

The Poor
Rate.

¹ "Remembrancia," p. 363; "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1631), pp. 474, 496 (1640), p. 184. Numerous returns from the justices are to be found amongst the State Papers. For those of Yorkshire *vide* Cartwright's "Chapters of Yorkshire History," pp. 309-321.

² "Greevous Grones for the Poor" (1621), p. 14.

³ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), pp. 124, 136.

⁴ Commons Journals. V., 296.

⁵ Bacon's "Annalls of Ipswich," p. 465; "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620-3), pp. 143, 523.

⁶ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1624), p. 177.

together was condoned,¹ and in 1619 a case was submitted to the judges so that they might decide whether the churchwardens and overseers had power to levy a rate "on the inhabitants of a parish for their lands and goods in gross and on the farmers for their land per acre."² Sir Robert Houghton and Sir Ranulph Carew were in favour of that mode of levying the rate. The matter was scarcely set at rest by the judgment delivered at the Lincoln Assizes in 1634 in the Boston case, that the churchwardens and overseers "are to make their taxations and assessments well and duly, according to the visible estates, real and personal, of such inhabitants within their town and also to tax and assess the occupiers of land within their town only, and not the lessors."³

**Compulsory
Provision
of Corn.**

Nothing so well illustrates the persistence of medieval ideas in the social economy of the seventeenth century as the frequent interference in the interests of the poor with the ordinary course of trade. Of such interference one of the best examples is the compulsory provision of corn and other commodities. Local authorities were compelled to store up corn in time of plenty, and this was sold at reduced prices in times of scarcity. Thus the justices of Lincolnshire were ordered to provide such a "magazine" in 1620,⁴ but those of Leicestershire, when requested to do so, pointed out that it was unnecessary, because the county was remote from any means of exporting grain, and grew chiefly peas and barley, which could not be long kept.⁵ The city companies had great granaries in which corn was stored, with the same object of keeping down prices in times of scarcity. Thus, in 1613, they were ordered to "make their provisions of wheat according to their several proportions," the supply to be obtained from foreign parts. In 1619 the Council complained that they had lately omitted the "laudable custom" of maintaining a magazine of 20,000 quarters of wheat, and required "a speedy and real supply . . . in the proportions usually rated on the several companies." In 1629 the Lord Mayor stated that they had kept down prices, still had 1,500 quarters in store, and were taking steps to secure 10,000 quarters from remote parts. In

¹ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), p. 124. ² *Ib.*, I.

³ Bulstrode's Reports, p. 354; Bott, "On the Poor Laws," I, 90.

⁴ "Belvoir MSS." ("Hist. MSS. Comm."), Vol. I, p. 456.

⁵ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), p. 124.

1632 the Council ordered that those who had neglected to provide a supply of corn "should be punished in some exemplary manner according to their demerits," when some of the wardens of the companies were committed to Newgate.¹

How such a system was carried into effect in time of scarcity can be seen from the following example. In October, 1622, an Order in Council was sent to the justices of the peace of all the counties of England and Wales to the effect that, to relieve the dearth of corn by the use of barley, they were to "suppress all

Its Practical
Effects.



(Komensky, "Orbis Sensualium Pictus," translated by Hoole, 1659.)

such alehouses as were not needful for convenience of the people, and to take strict care that in those still permitted the beer and ale brewed were only of moderate strength." Farmers were to supply the markets sufficiently,² and to sell one-fourth of their corn at "under rates" to the poor.³ Of course, the mere rumour of such orders would send up the price of corn long before any action could be taken. In January, 1623, the justices of Norfolk begged to be excused even from making a second survey of the quantity of grain in store, on the ground that their former survey had raised prices.⁴ But, as a rule, the

¹ "Remembrancia," pp. 372-391, *passim*.
Papers" (1622), p. 455.

³ *Ib.*, p. 470.

² "Calendar of Domestic State
⁴ *Ib.*, p. 481.

justices acted in conformity with the orders they received. At Bury, Suffolk, which was a "great malting place," the malting of barley was forbidden for three weeks, and then allowed only once a week. The authorities hoped that this would lead to the use of greater quantities of barley for bread, "instead of which it ceased to be brought to market." They also suppressed twenty alehouses, restricted the price of beer, and took the assize of all bread. But in spite of an order forbidding millers to buy and sell corn, the Bury magistrates ventured to tolerate their practice of selling it ground to the poor in smaller quantities than they could purchase it in the market.¹ The justices of Hampshire took measures for the compulsory supply of 500 quarters of corn weekly, the charge being distributed over the different hundreds in specified proportions.² In Hertfordshire, "by example and persuasion," they provided corn in every parish, which was sold to the poor half-price, and in some places it was sold only to the poor during the first two hours on market day.³ Similar reports came in from many other counties, and these measures were continued until the time of scarcity was passed.

**Employ-
ment of
the Poor.**

There was one part of the poor law which would tax the energies of the most zealous justice of the peace, viz., that dealing with the employment of the poor. In hospitals and houses of correction rogues and vagabonds appear to have been frequently "set on work." But the provision of a stock for employing the poor in their own homes under the supervision of the overseers, or for starting a trade which would absorb them, was a much more difficult matter. People naturally objected to the payment of a rate for such a purpose, and it is doubtful whether any general attempt to levy one was made. But occasional mention is made of setting the poor on work by subsidizing them out of the rates. In eight towns of Hertfordshire such an experiment was tried for two years. The object was to establish the "new drapery" for the employment of the poor, and the requisite capital was supplied from the rates; but the scheme failed, "the profits of the work not finding support for the workmen," and the magistrates complained that they could not call on the county to pay the charges of the projector, because the project was a burden from which the people wished

¹ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1622), p. 484.

² *Ib.*, p. 488.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 539, 540.

to be free.¹ But the apprenticing of poor children to trade and husbandry was frequently undertaken. In the rape of Chichester, during the six months ending July 18th, 1639, twenty-six apprentices were so bound.² This practice had a very detrimental effect on the condition of the working classes, but its discussion scarcely falls within the limits of this section.



Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.

ARCHBISHOP ABBOT'S HOSPITAL, GUILDFORD.

PLAGUE, which had never been for long in abeyance in London or other parts of England since the Black Death of 1348, was at no period more disastrous than in the two generations preceding the date of its extinction in 1666. The plague of 1603, which coincided exactly with the accession of James I. and marred the splendour of his coronation, was the most deadly in absolute numbers that the capital had as yet experienced, and was

**CHARLES
CREIGHTON.**
Public
Health.

¹ "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), p. 143.

² *Ib.* (1639-40), pp. 289-291, where also other cases are given.

**The Pre-
valence of
Plague.**

followed by a steady prevalence of the infection for several years. The plague of 1625, which coincided exactly with the accession of Charles I., and, along with other things, caused his coronation to be delayed nearly a year, was still more fatal in absolute numbers than that of 1603, and equally so in ratio of the population; while many other years of the reign, especially 1636, had high mortalities from the same cause. Hardly one of the more important towns besieged or occupied during the Civil Wars escaped a plague of the first degree, the deaths in several of them being reckoned by the thousand. Lastly, the plague abruptly ended its career of more than three centuries in England with the terrific explosion of 1665 in London, which has always been reckoned the Great Plague, and is sometimes thought of as if it had been an unique event. The plague of 1665 was greater than all that had preceded it because London was then a much greater city, having doubled in population since the accession of James I.; so that the absolute mortality of 1665 was fully more than twice that of the plague of 1603. The plague of 1665 owes also much of its celebrity to the genius of Defoe, who, being always on the outlook for a good literary theme, seized the occasion of the Marseilles plague of 1720 to make a story of the last great London plague as if from the pen of an eye-witness. But the eye-witness authorities are the writers of 1603 and 1625, who were for some reason more numerous than in 1665, or more disposed to throw their experiences into literary form, whether prose or verse. It is really from the contemporaries of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson—from Dekker and Lodge (as physician), from Abraham Holland and George Wither, Taylor the Waterman-Poet, and the letter-writers of the time—that the most authentic glimpses of the great London plagues are obtained.

**The
Epidemic
of 1603.**

The plague of 1603 began in the parish of Stepney (which then extended from Shoreditch to Blackwall) about the time of the queen's death in March. But for the stir and bustle of the new reign, it is conceivable that the infection might not have passed the endemic level of an ordinary plague-year. The death of Elizabeth in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and the approach of James from Scotland, gave the signal for an extraordinary revival of business and pleasure. "Trades that were dead and rotten," says Dekker, in the "Wonderful Yea-,"

"started out of their trance. . . . There was mirth in every one's face, the streets were filled with gallants, tobaccoists filled up whole taverns, vintners hung out spick-and-span new ivy bushes (because they wanted good wine), and their old rain-beaten lattices marched under other colours, having lost both company and colour before." In the midst of all this the plague



NAVE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S.

(From an Engraving by W. Hollar.)

began to claim notice in the eastern parishes, and at length to invade the City and the western Liberties. On June 23 the Trinity law sessions were suspended. A letter of July 10 says that "Paul's grows thin, for every man shrinks away"—the transepts and aisles of the old Gothic cathedral being used as a thoroughfare and place of news. Instead of passing from

the Tower to Westminster, the king's coronation progress, on July 18, extended only from Westminster Bridge (a landing-stage on the river) to the Abbey. By that time the deaths were up to nearly a thousand in the week. Funerals, says Dekker, followed so close that "three thousand mourners went as if trooping together, with rue and wormwood stuffed into their ears and nostrils, looking like so many boars'-heads stuck with branches of rosemary."

Popular
Preven-
tives.

Herb-wives and gardeners reaped a golden harvest, the price of rosemary going up from twelpence an armful to six shillings a handful. Those were the aromatic herbs which were believed to keep off the infection, and were strewn in rooms, in churches, and in other places of assembly, or worn on the person. It was thought prudent to smell frequently of aromatic or "aigre" substances, which were often enclosed in jewels worn round the neck, or in pouncet-boxes, pomanders, or vinaigrettes, or in the tops of walking-sticks, which were frequently carried to the nostrils—the physician's gold-headed cane, which originally contained a scent-bottle, being a survival of the practice.

For a time the burials proceeded as usual in the parish graveyards, to the great enrichment of the sextons, especially those of Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. Olave's, and St. Clement Danes. At length the corpses came too fast for ceremony. The rule at that time was to bury only from six in the morning until six in the evening, so that bodies might not be stolen forth for burial in the dark and the existence of plague in a house concealed. When morning came there were many bodies for one grave. "All ceremonial due to them was taken away; they were launched ten in one heap, twenty in another, the gallant and the beggar together; the husband saw his wife and his deadly enemy whom he hated within a pair of sheets." The victims came mostly from the crowded lanes of the "sinfully polluted suburbs," from the ever-spreading skirts of the City which the Proclamation of 1580 had been powerless to curtail. The London lanes, says one quaint versifier,

"Did vomit out their undigested dead,
Who by cartloads are carried to the grave;
For all those lanes with folk were overfed."

James Bamford, minister of St. Olave's, found the infection most rife among "such as do not greatly regard clean and sweet keeping, and where many are pestered together in alleys and houses"; whereas, "of those that keep a good diet, have clean and sweet keeping, live in a good air, use reasonable and seasonable preservatives, and be not pestered many in one house, or have convenient house-room for their household, we see few infected in comparison of those that fail in all these means of preservation and yet will thrust themselves into danger."

There must have been many of the former class in his own parish—a maze of alleys by the riverside and on the landward side of St. Olave's Street for a distance of some half-mile from London Bridge to Horselydown; for the plague-deaths in it from May 7th to October 13th numbered 2,640, the most fatal week having had 305 and the most fatal day fifty-seven.

The minister of St. Olave's was one of the few parish clergy who remained with their people during the plague. Magistrates also fled, so that housebreaking and lawlessness of every kind proceeded unpunished. Bamford has no excuse to offer for the flight of his clerical brethren and of the magistrates; but he is not clear that the medical faculty were not justified in retiring to the country, seeing that "they are no public persons, and live, not by a common stipend, but by what they can get." Their place was taken by a band of desperadoes, who clapped their bills upon every door. Dekker gives a poor account of the power of drugs over the plague. Although they were sold at every corner, so that every street looked like Bucklersbury, the medicines "had not so much strength to hold life and soul together as a pot of Pinder's ale and a nutmeg. . . . Galen could do no more than Sir Giles Goosecap." One physician, who honourably remained at his post (in Warwick Lane) and issued a book for the occasion, was Dr. Thomas Lodge, better known as a poet and romancist (III., pp. 708, 711).

Popular
Panic.

The richer citizens who fled to the country so long as there were any hackneys and coaches or waggons in Smithfield, or wherries on the water, to bear them away, were but coldly received in the villages and towns: "The sight of a Londoner's flat cap was dreadful to a lob; a treble ruff threw a whole

village into a sweat." And not without reason; for the villages or country parishes all round London have evidence in their registers of more deaths from plague in 1603 than even in 1665. The theme of Londoners being refused entertainment in the country is still more prominent in the plague of 1625. Dr. Donne writes that some were allowed to perish with "more money about them than would have bought the entire village where they died."

It was not until the end of November that the deaths from

of the Plague.

A singular and secret Remedie the which I received from a worthy man of *Venice*, admirable for his learning in all Sciences, who of curtesie imparted the same vnto me, with protestation that he had seene wonderfull effects of the same.

Take of the Rotes of Cloymenfil and White Diptamy, as much of the one as of the other, of Bole Armenus wash in Rose water, the quantitie of a great Chestnut, of orientall Pearles one diamme: of the Harings of Zuoy one diamme and a halfe, beate all these into a fine powder, and incorporate them with conserue of Roses in a marble Morter, reserve this confection in a vessel of glasse well couered. Take hereof the quantitie of a great Nut in the Mornig, and drinke a spoonfull of the Juice of Garry-golds or Lemons with Sugar after it. The Gentleman that gave me this, assured mee that hee had giuen it to many in the time of the great Plague in Venice, who though continually constant in the houses of those that were infected, received no infection or preiudice by them. A Remedie worthy the vie and noting.

A PRESCRIPTION AGAINST THE PLAGUE.

(T. Lodge, "Treatise of the Plague," 1603.)

plague fell to a hundred in the week. The epidemic had cost London about a sixth part of its population, the actual figures of plague-mortality in the bills (not quite complete) having been 33,347, and the deaths from all causes for the whole year 42,945. But even so great a gap in the population as that did not remain long unfilled by influx from the country and abroad; for in 1605, the second year from the plague, the christenings were 6,504, the highest total they had hitherto reached.

Some time towards the end of the plague of 1603, King James granted a licence to reopen the Curtain and Boar's Head

1642]

theatres, "as soon as the plague decreases to thirty deaths per week in London," which condition was not fulfilled until after Christmas. Plague interfered with business of all kinds, but it bore hardest of all on the "poor players." It passed as an axiom that the concourse of people to see stage plays, bear-fights, dog-fights, and the like, was one of the chief means of spreading infection. Stage plays were prohibited during the plague of 1563. In a sermon preached at Paul's Cross on Sunday, November 3rd, 1577, on the text, "Woe to that abominable, filthy, and cruel city," the preacher cries out upon the play-houses of that day—we are apt to think of them as very primitive — "Behold the sumptuous theatre-houses, a continual monument of London's prodigal folly! But I understand they are now forbidden because of the plague." Shakespeare's most active time, when he was producing his historical pieces and his comedies, corresponded in great part to a remarkable abeyance of plague in London from 1594 to 1603. On May 17th, 1603, before the infection had risen to a great outburst, his name is joined in a patent for the Globe Theatre. But the plague revived in the end of 1605 and continued somewhat steadily, in the summers and autumns at least, for the next five years. Dekker, writing of the plague in 1606, says that the playhouses stand empty, with the doors locked and the flag taken down. At the beginning of winter, 1607, the plague-deaths having fallen to about the limit of thirty in a week, leave was given to reopen the theatres, so that the poor players might make a living. The period from 1603 to 1610 was more continuously occupied by plague in London than any other in Shakespeare's career, and the business of the stage was in like measure hindered. Plays were given before the Court or in the houses of the nobility, but seldom before the populace in the theatres, unless it were in winter. Perhaps that is a minor reason why there appears to be a premature break in the great dramatist's career in London, as well as a marked difference between the manner of his later and his earlier pieces. There was again a long interval free from plague in London, from 1610 to 1625, which corresponds with a period of gaiety and rapid growth; but it does not appear that Shakespeare's active connection with the London stage was ever resumed.

Plague
and the
Play.

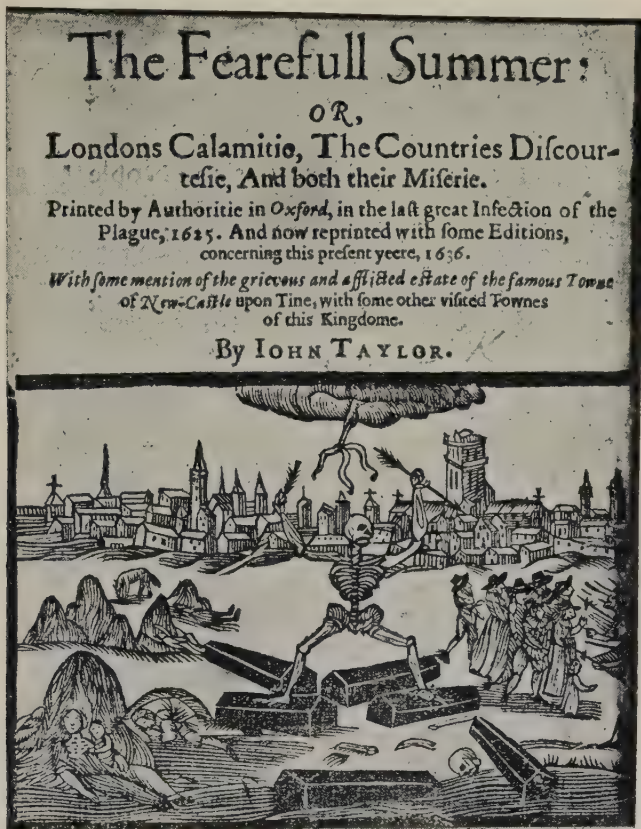
The
Plague
of 1625.

The great plague of London in 1625, which raised the mortality of the year to the enormous total of 63,001, the deaths by the plague being 41,313, reproduced exactly the events of 1603—the flight of the richer class, their inhospitable reception in the country, the absolute arrest of trade and business in London, the streets as deserted at noon as they would ordinarily be at midnight, lawlessness of the starving population, the burials by the cartload when infection was at its highest point of near a thousand deaths in a day on certain days of August. While plague was the predominant type of zymotic disease, and so uniform in its characteristics and effects that the history of it admits of little variety, it was not the only kind of epidemic sickness by which those times were distinguished from our own. The years 1622–24 furnish an example of a widely prevalent typhus fever which was in some respects unlike the typhus of more recent times. In Scotland its worst season was the winter of 1622–23, and its obvious occasion a famine comparable to one of the great medieval famines. But the worst years of the fever in England, 1623 and 1624, do not appear, from the tables of Thorold Rogers, to have been years of famine prices; and it is clear from letters of the time that no such obvious explanation of the epidemic could be found. The summer of 1624 was very hot and dry, and remarkable for the abundance of cucumbers in and near London; hence it was thought that these fruits may have had something to do with the fever, as they had been watered out of stagnant or half-dried pools and ditches. “But that reason,” says a London letter, “will reach no farther than this town, whereas the mortality is spread far and near, and takes hold of whole households in many places.” It took away “many of good sort as well as meaner people,” causing deaths among the nobility and squires in their country houses. Sir Theodore Mayerne, the king’s physician, thought that it was “not so much contagious as common through a universal disposing cause”—as we suppose influenza to be. It was a spotted or purple fever, attended with sleeplessness, and fatal in a large proportion of its attacks. It seems to have corresponded most nearly in its type and circumstances to the ill-reputed “Hungarian fever,” which was peculiar to the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth.

Typhus.

The other epidemic sickness that becomes usually prominent in the two first Stuart reigns is small-pox. Like the fever of 1623-24, it had many victims in good houses, and among adults as well as children. It is heard of in the Tudor period, but it is clear that it was then considered to be an unimportant

Small-pox.



THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1625.

(Title-page to J. Taylor, "The Fearefull Summer.")

malady, and it was so much associated with measles that the Latin name of small-pox, *variolae*, is rendered by "measles" in the Elizabethan vocabulary of Levins, who was himself a medical graduate. An entry on the margin of Trinity parish register at Chester opposite the year 1634 states that "for

these two or three years divers children died of small-pox"—as if that were a novel thing. There are other fragments of evidence tending to show that in some country parishes small-pox had never been seen at all before the middle of the seventeenth century, and that it was a disease, as Willis says, "seldom epidemical." It seems to have begun to be really formidable in London in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. Lord Dorchester, in a letter to the Earl of Carlisle on 30th August, 1628, calls it "the popular disease": "Your dear lady hath suffered by the popular disease, but without danger, as I understand from her doctor, either of death or deformity." In that summer the weekly deaths from small-pox in London were as high as fifty-eight. It was then a trouble of the rich as well as of the poor, and an occasion of special solicitude to the fair sex from the risk that attended it of marring the beauty of the face.

MARY
BATESON.
Social
Life.

THE social, like the political and religious, history of the first half of the seventeenth century is the history of a forty years' preparation for civil war. In the lives of the leisured classes during the reign of James I., the signs of an age of decadence are plainly visible, and tend to obscure the signs of an approaching regeneration. During the reign of Charles I. it grows clear that the sway will be held by the forces striving to fill society with new life.

Public
Morals.

What had been gaiety in Elizabethan society became heartless frivolity in the reign of James I. Elizabethan society had found cohesion in a national purpose, and dignity and sobriety in the consciousness of grave national danger, but in the reign of James only one section of society perceived the dangers now threatening England from within, not from without; but of that section there were no representatives at Court. Elizabeth's Court had not been free from faction and intrigue, but she did not choose as her sole confidants greedy, unscrupulous adventurers, whose goodwill had to be gained by all who hoped for worldly advantage. Amid the plots and counter-plots of James's reign no one felt safe; and the sudden fall of men occupying the highest position—of the Lord Treasurer for peculation, of the Lord Keeper for bribery, of the Lord

Chamberlain and the Lord Privy Seal for suspected complicity in murder—served to render the atmosphere of mutual suspicion denser, not to clear it. The few who, like Archbishop Abbot, tried to reconcile their duty as men of integrity with



ANNE OF DENMARK. (*Trinity House.*)

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

their duty as courtiers found their influence gone and their lives clouded.

In the Court of James the number of open and notorious evil livers was great, and the best that can be said is that it was not so bad as the Court of Charles II.¹ Most of the old nobility and peers of the best type avoided the Court, and

The
Court of
James I.

¹ *Cf.*, Gardiner, ii., 167, *note*.

spent their time in travel or in the retirement of their country houses.¹ So far as their own married life was concerned, James and his queen set a good example; so too in the bringing up of their children; but the force of their example was destroyed by the countenance they gave to the worst offenders. The story of the Somerset marriage is an illustration. To heal a Court feud, James brought about a marriage between the Earl of Essex, aged fourteen, and Lady Frances Howard, aged thirteen. After the wedding the Earl was sent to travel for a few years, and returned to find that his wife would not live



JAMES I., PRINCE HENRY, AND A YEOMAN OF THE GUARD (MS. Egerton 1269)

with him, and that the king's favourite, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, was her lover. James, to please Carr, was now as eager to procure a divorce as he had been to make the match, and he appointed commissioners to try the case. After proceedings of a revolting nature, he secured a verdict which implied that it lay in the king's power to dissolve the marriage tie whenever he saw fit. The divorce proceedings were nominally secret; but their nature was well known in the fashionable world, and Chamberlain's letters show that they were town-talk. The shameless wickedness of Lady Essex—or Frances Howard, as she chose to call herself—was notorious. Yet when she was married to her lover, who had been created

¹ Brydges, "Memoirs," Preface, p. xviii.

Earl of Somerset that his rank might equal hers, men of wealth and fashion vied to do the young couple honour. The conduct of such men cannot be defended on the ground that they did not know what we know now.¹ All that they did not know was the fact that the Countess was actually, and not merely in intention,² a murderess. Her character they knew, but they did not know that her victim was Overbury, Rochester's favourite (p. 123). Overbury had helped Rochester to write his love-letters to the Countess, but opposed his marriage. The wretched agents of the Countess, who administered the poisons at her direction, were hanged; she was declared to have been led astray by these "base persons," and James pardoned her, together with her husband, who was at the time believed to be as guilty as his wife.

James chose another favourite more profligate than Somerset, and busied himself with more match-making. Only the touching fidelity of the wife, whose affections he never succeeded in alienating, saved Buckingham from the probable consequences of his faithless conduct. Amongst the shameful matches made by his mother for her children and poor relations, the marriage of the unhappy Frances Coke to Buckingham's half-witted brother



THE EARL OF SOMERSET AND LADY ESSEX.

(*"The Connexion,"* 1672.)

¹ Cf. Spedding, "Life and Letters of Bacon," iv., 392.

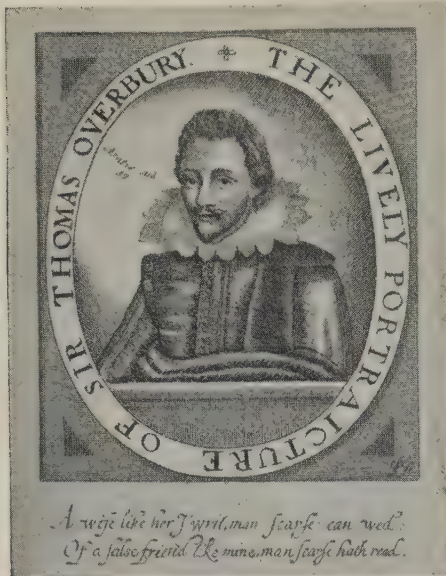
² Winwood, "Memorials," iii. 453; and State Papers—Domestic, lxxii., 120.

John may be named as comparing with that of Lady Essex in its tragic consequences.

Charles I.

Under Charles I. the tone of the Court greatly improved. He

was "temperate, chaste, and serious" himself; and Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson adds that "the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, yet so revered the king as to retire into corners to practise them." Intemperance, incessant swearing, gambling, and dicing were no longer countenanced by the king's personal example; and a serious effort was made to put a stop to duelling, which James I. had discouraged by proclamation, but without result.¹



SIR THOMAS OVERBURY.

("The Connexion," 1672.)

Unfortunately, the queen was not of opinion that moral offenders should be banished from her Court, provided they were, like Henry Jermyn, gay and entertaining. Nor had she any eye for genuine merit. Hence it was that prudent women, like Habington's beloved wife, avoided the Court:—

"She sails by that rock, the Court,
Where oft honour splits her mast,
And ret'r'dness thinks the port
Where her fame may anchor cast.
Virtue safely cannot sit
Where vice sits enthron'd for wit."²

There is nothing to show that the improvement in Charles I.'s

¹ A. W. Ward, ii., 227, 402; Gardiner, ii., 212; Ellis, "Letters," 1st Series, iii., 107; 2nd Series, iii., 233.

² "Castara" (Arber), 1635.



CHILDREN OF CHARLES I., BY VANDYCK.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

Court was due to Puritanical influences. The Puritan party did not seize the opportunities afforded for an attack on Court immorality which events like the Essex divorce and Overbury murder gave, but left the Court to go its own way to destruction. Nevertheless the Puritans were acting as a party of social reform, but it was religion that bound them together as a party. It was with them a religious doctrine that Christians as individuals should strive to conform their daily lives to certain Scriptural commands, should practise a real, and not merely profess a formal religion; hence they could not fail, consciously or unconsciously, to make the regeneration of society an object. Even their opponents identified with them all who attacked social abuses in a serious spirit. Thus Colonel Hutchinson's widow writes:

"If any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject, . . . he was a Puritan; if any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritan; . . . in short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, . . . the lewd nobility and gentry—whoever was zealous for God's glory, . . . could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath-breaking—whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or anything good, all these were Puritans; and if Puritans, then enemies to the king and his government. . . . Such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light."

Puritan
Influence.



A LADY OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND.

(By W. Hollar.)

In this false logic lay the strength of the "children of light." They were able to persuade themselves and others that men like Herbert, Nicholas Ferrar (p. 46), and Crashaw, the devout

Romanist son of a devout Puritan father, who aimed at purity as sincerely and were as passionately religious as any Puritan, were exceptions proving the rule. Children of darkness, like Charles I. and Strafford, were leading happy, unstained married lives; it was not only Cromwell who could hear from his wife, "My life is but half a life in your absence, did not the Lord make it up in Himself"—or could write to her, as he does from the field of Dunbar, "Thou art dearer to me than any creature—let that suffice." On the other hand, there were Puritans as well as Cavaliers in whose hearts Milton's arguments in favour of divorce, where there is "indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind," would awaken response. Puritans and Cavaliers alike were ready to advise their children, "Let not your fancy overrule your necessity," "Where passion and affection sway, that man is deprived of sense and understanding,"¹ though perhaps no Puritan had the candour to say, "I mean to marry my daughter to £2,000 a year."²

Intemperance
at Court.

Religious doctrine may not help men to secure domestic peace, but it helped the Puritans to resist social vice. Intemperance had, in the reign of James I., reached such a point that men of Elizabeth's Court, where there had been indecorum enough, were shocked to see the ladies and gentlemen of James I.'s Court rolling about in a state of intoxication.³ The secretary of the Venetian ambassador observes that after a royal entertainment such a rush was made for the supper-table that it was upset and all the food was scattered.⁴

The Puritans and
Drunkenness.

The prevalence of intemperance was a favourite subject with Puritan writers, and, without directly attacking the Court for encouraging it, their animosity to the fashionable vice was made clear. James's fine of five shillings for drunkenness was not calculated to do much good. In 1628 Prynne dedicated his "Healthes: Sicknesse," a tract against the drinking of healths, to King Charles, and urged him to forbid his "health" to be made "the daily table-compliment, grace, and first salute of every jovial courtier." He asks, "Is it not an affront to his

¹ Gardiner, ii., 91, quoting Sir W. Monson's advice to his eldest son.

² "Memoirs of the Verney Family," ii., 349.

³ Harrington, "Nugae Antiquae," i., 348, on the visit of Christian IV. of Denmark, the queen's brother.

⁴ Busino, quoted in Furnivall's "Harrison," p. 59*.

Majesty to have his name profaned in every taphouse, unhallowed places, unworthy of so holy a name?" Temperance, he says, is vilified under opprobrious names, as Puritanism, preciseness, singularity, clownishness; the sober are sad and discontented persons, branded as Puritans, hypocrites, precisians, stoics, humorists; the last a fashionable slang word, with a variety of meanings.¹

Nor was it intemperance in drink alone that gave the Puritans ground for an attack on Court abuses. It was often the pressing necessity for money to keep up the many extravagant entertainments and other aristocratic excesses² that led men of otherwise innocent life astray. To procure money, the king, the queen, and their courtiers used every device. James himself anxiously pressed his queen to make a will,³ lest her favourite attendants should seize her jewels on her death; and the event proved the soundness of the advice, which she did not follow. While courtiers were reduced to pilfering,⁴ the king and queen ran deeply into debt. The entertainments which Elizabeth had made her courtiers provide for her, they were generous enough to provide for their courtiers at the expense of their creditors. James and Anne, accustomed to Scotch penury, were delighted with the masque Lord Spencer provided for them at Althorp on their journey south, and from that time Anne began to make Court theatricals the object of her existence.⁵

Court
Extrav-
agance.

As it was not so much acting that she cared for as fancy-dress and dancing, the form of entertainment known as the "masque" was developed to its utmost possibilities. Music, dancing, and transformation scenes were its principal features; and the masque resembled the modern opera in several respects, differing from it mainly in the absence of plot. A "masque" was generally given to celebrate a particular event: a marriage, a birthday, the visit of an ambassador, or other festive occasion; and in that case some representation of the Court in allegorical form served instead of a connected story. Daniel, Jonson, and Campion were the most prolific writers of the masque *libretti*.

Masques.

¹ Jonson, "Works," ed. Cunningham, i., 67.

² Cf. Birch, "Memoirs of the Court of Charles I.," i., 35; Winwood, "Memorials," iii., 434.

³ Halliwell-Phillips, "Letters of the Kings," ii., 122.

⁴ Cf. Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, iii., 130.

⁵ Cf. Bentivoglio, quoted in Aikin, "Court of James I.," i., 334.



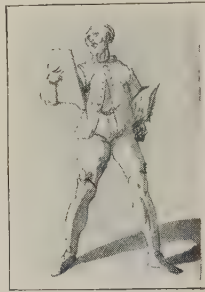
MORRIS DANCER.

"Masque of Blackness," played on Twelfth Night, in the banquet-hall, Whitehall, 1606. The queen and the Court ladies and gentlemen blacked and appeared as thus describes the

"First, for the scene schap,' consisting of and there a void place which falling, an arti-shoot forth . . . with move, and in some places In front . . . were placed their backs were borne light pieces of taffeta, as

Inigo Jones was far the most famous scene-painter and machinist; and in his hands the transformation scene developed to a perfection then thought very astonishing. The inventor of dances Giles, the lutanist Ferrabosco, and, in Charles I.'s reign, the musician Henry Lawes were not less important collaborators. Even learned antiquaries like Selden were consulted for costumes.¹

The first of Ben Jonson's masques, in which the queen herself acted, was the "Masque of Blackness," played on Twelfth Night, in the banquet-hall, Whitehall, 1606. The queen and the Court ladies and gentlemen blacked their faces and arms, Ethiopians. Jonson scenic adjuncts:—



BALLAD SINGER.

was drawn a 'landt-small woods and here filled with huntings; ficial sea was seen to waves that seemed to the billows to brake. six tritons. . . . (From out [on wires] certain if carried by the wind.)"

Oceanus and Niger rode on sea-horses behind, and introduced the chief performers seated in a shell of mother-of-pearl, moving up and down on the waves, the whole shell being brilliantly lit. All this was "of Master Inigo Jones: his design and act." Sir Dudley Carleton writes concerning this scene in a carping spirit:—

"There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes. . . . The indecorum was that there was all fish and no water."

The appearance of the queen and the Countess of Bedford, Ladies Suffolk, Rich,

HARLEQUIN.
(After Inigo Jones.)

¹ Masson's "Life of Milton," i., 544.

and others, he describes as "rich, but too light and courtesan-like for such great ones."¹

After songs from mermaids, and classical verse from the river-gods, "the moon was discovered in the upper part of the house," on a silver throne, in a heaven of blue silk set with stars of silver. The scallop-shell drew to land, and the ladies, led by the queen, danced on shore, each couple presenting their fans. Joined by the gentlemen, they danced several "measures and corantos," then back into the shell, and, with a full chorus, went out.

In the "Masque of Beauty," the scene was an island floating on calm water, and suitable dresses were invented for the embodiment of "Splendor, Serenitas, Germinatio, Lætitia," and so forth. The masque was remarkable for its elaborate dances, and for the "machine of the spectacle," representing a globe—

"Filled with countries, and those gilded; where the sea was expressed, heightened with silver waves. This stood, or rather hung (for no axle was seen to support it), and, turning softly, discovered the first masque, which was of the men, sitting in fair composition, within a mine of several metals: to which the lights were so placed as no one was seen, but seemed as if only Reason with the splendour of her crown illumined the whole grot."



KETT THE REBEL.
(After Inigo Jones.)

To the invention of marvels of this kind the aristocratic world devoted its most serious attention.² Bacon made the masque the subject of an essay, wherein he names the colours that show best by candle-light, and observes that—

"Oes or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost, and not discerned. . . . Let anti-masques (generally comic and satirical) not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit."

Sometimes it was arranged to fill the scene "with sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling; in

¹ Winwood's "Memorials," ii., 44.

² "Cf. Donne's "Letters," xxxvi.

such a company, as there is stearn and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment.”¹ Bacon got the Inns² of Court to give a masque for the Somerset wedding at his expense, and he spent £2,000 upon it, without, however, giving great satisfaction to his audience.

Dancing.

“Turning dances into figure,” Bacon held to be “a childish curiosity”; but such dances were greatly admired. The dances of all countries found acceptance; brawls, pavins, measures, the canary dance, the coranto, the lavolto, jigs, galliards, fancies,³ were all favourites. Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador, records that, in a masque got up by Prince Charles (1617-18), the dancers began to flag, and the king shouted in anger, “Why don’t you dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all—dance!” All the cavaliers were worn out; but, on hearing this, Buckingham sprang forward, and “cut a score of lofty and very minute capers with so much grace and agility that the king was delighted, and honoured the marquis by a display of extraordinary affection, patting his face.” The Prince of Wales, owing to his youth, “has not much wind as yet, but he cut a few capers very gracefully.”

Henrietta Maria was not, like Anne, content with merely dressing up and dancing; she committed a long part in a pastoral play to memory in order to perfect herself in the English tongue,³ and acted on the Court stage. In 1629 French women had acted on the public stage, and on the three occasions of their appearance were hissed off. Tom Coryat, in his “Crudities” (1611), says he heard of women acting in public in London, but never saw them do so before he went to Italy.

**Puritanism
and the
Stage.**

Almost immediately after the queen’s appearance, Prynne published “*Histriomastix*,” the fruit of seven years’ labour, a work which embodied the prevalent Puritan opinion on dramatic performances. In the days of Elizabeth the Puritan Stubbes held that some plays were “very honest and commendable exercises,” and “may be used in time and place convenient as conducive to example of life and reformation of manners”; but the gross corruption of the seventeenth-

¹ Bacon’s Essay No. 37.

² Drake, “Shakespeare and his Times,” ii., 173.

³ Strickland, “Queens of England,” viii., 69.



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(By permission, from the collection of the Rev. F. W. Galpin.)

century stage drove Prynne and the majority of the Puritan party to extremest views. Prynne, grieved to hear that the 40,000 play-books printed in the last two years are "more vendible than the choicest sermons," set to work to amass evidence from the early Fathers, Canon Law, and Christian and pagan writers of all times, to show that all actors, playwrights, and theatre-goers were "sinful, heathenish, lewd, and ungodly." The tone of pedantry which runs through Prynne's volume is not a little characteristic of Stuart as compared with Elizabethan Puritanism. It was his remarks on women-actors that made his work famous; while he condemned to perdition men who wear women's clothes,¹ women acting women's parts were to him infinitely more offensive. The information which summoned him before the Star Chamber says that—

"Though the author knew that the Queen and the Lords of the Council were frequently present at those diversions, yet he had railed against plays, masques, dancing, Maypoles, Christmas-keeping, dressing houses with ivy, festivals, etc., and [that] he had aspersed the Queen and commended factious persons."²

In consequence he was sentenced to lose his ears, and the sentence was executed in 1634 without any marked popular demonstration. Three years later, when he and Bastwick and Burton were sentenced with further severity for works on Church government, the populace treated them as martyrs. The immediate result of Prynne's work was to infuse the Court with new enthusiasm for plays and masques. The queen acted again, in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, and the four Inns of Court united to give a masque which cost £21,000.³ Though Prynne had singled out Lincoln's Inn for special commendation because the Benchers forbade public dice-play in their halls, and did not keep Bacchanalian Christmases and Grand Days on Sundays, Lincoln's Inn joined with the others.

Comus."

Two years after the publication of "Histriomastix," Milton wrote "Comus, a Masque," which, whether it was deliberately so intended or not, was both an answer to Prynne and a con-

¹ It was only with great difficulty that Cambridge undergraduates could be induced to wear female dress on the stage. Jonson's "Works," ed. Cunningham, ii., 207.

² Neal, "History of the Puritans," ii., 262.

³ Whitelocke, "Memorials," *sub anno* 1633.

demnation of the fashionable theatre. Written for the Egerton family, intellectual, accomplished Royalists of the best type—the part of the Lady played by Lady Alice Egerton—it bears witness to the great possibilities that underlay the Puritanism which was above party, and shows what force lay in the hands of the Puritan who could retain his intellectual



A PROMISE AND A TRIUMPH.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

freedom and his moral magnanimity. But the Puritan party remembered that the Court had thrown in its lot with a corrupt dramatic literature, that Prynne had lost his ears for "Histriomastix," and only the death of the drama could avenge him. By an ordinance of September 2nd, 1642, all theatres were closed. Puritan weaknesses had been lashed too severely on the stage for Puritans to remember that the stage, polluted as it was, had never spared the follies of the courtiers. The

dramatists had not used the weapon of banter without effect, but in the eyes of the Puritans that counted for little against the corrupting moral influence undoubtedly exercised by many of the popular plays.¹

Sports.

The excessive bitterness shown in the Puritan attack on the drama was characteristic also of their attack on dancing, dicing, and card-playing. Stubbes believed these amusements to be capable of a legitimate use; the Puritans of New England held



THE HALL, LUDLOW CASTLE.

(In which "Comus" was first performed.)

it impossible that they could ever be innocent recreations, and forbade them by law.² Whatever amusement or sport James I. specially enjoyed incurred Puritan dislike. He was absurdly fond of hunting³ (with dogs, not with guns and bows, for that he held "a thievish kind of sport"⁴), so much so that even his courtiers wearied of it. Cock-fighting he also patronised, and

¹ A. W. Ward, "Hist. Eng. Dramatic Poetry"; also Gardiner, vii., 327.

² Palfrey, "History of New England," i., 299.

³ Rye, "England as Seen by Foreigners," 244.

⁴ "Basilicon Doron" (Roxburghe Club).

bear- and bull-baitings,¹ and all these sports were opposed by Puritans.²

Many sports which as sports they did not condemn³ have ceased to exist because the Puritans condemned their use on Sundays, the only day on which working people could practise them regularly. The question of Sabbatarianism was the first occasion of open conflict between the Court and the Puritans on a social question. The Puritans triumphed when, in 1618, the Declaration of Sports was withdrawn, after the refusal of Puritan clergy such as William Gouge, to read it from the pulpit as directed. Reissued by Charles in 1633, it was burned

Sabbat-
arianism.



THE BURNING OF THE BOOK OF SPORTS.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

publicly in May, 1643, and all persons were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to be present on the Lord's Day at any wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure, masques, wakes, church-ale games, dancing, or other pastime.

Just as religion drove the Puritans to social reform, it drove them to dress reform. The Puritan doctrine on the vestment controversy had its application to lay costume. Pride in apparel is condemned by many Scriptural texts, and opposition to the excessive extravagance which characterised the Court party, especially under James I., made the Puritan strictly utilitarian in his dress. The abrupt change from the ridiculous bombasted

Dress.

¹ Rye, 123-4.

² Cf. *The Alchemist*, III., ii. ; acted 1610.

³ Cf. Col. Hutchinson's "Life," ed. Firth, i., 32, etc.

breeches and wheel farthingales of James I.'s reign to the simple but rich and elegant dress which we associate with the portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria was probably due rather to one of those sudden reactions which rule fashion than to the influence of Puritan feeling, and perhaps also to Charles I.'s refined taste, which contrasted strongly with his father's carelessness. Henrietta, too, had taste in dress, whereas Anne had none. In James's reign it was found necessary to forbid ladies, and even gentlemen, to come in "vardingales"¹ to masques, when the audience had to be tightly packed, and this may have led to their permanent abolition. The "bravery" of a Jacobean gallant did not differ in its main features from that of an Elizabethan; it was chiefly in accessories that he showed his ingenuity. Colours were now more carefully chosen; white satin embroidered with silver,² pearl and peach colour, flame and orange-tawny were among the favourites. Ruffs were starched with coloured starch, and the yellow starch, invented by Mrs. Anne Turner, the agent of the Countess of Somerset's plots, was held in much esteem, till it was ordered that she should be hanged in a cobweb-lawn ruff of her own dyeing. The length and pattern of garters, shoe-roses, boot-fringes, the jewel and feathers and band in the hat, were crucial points in male costume. A gentleman's love-lock or locks, their frizzling and powdering, the ribbons with which they were tied, and their position on the shoulder, a lady's frontlet and side curls, were anxious matters, and when Nature refused to provide the needful means, perfumed perukes and periwigs were worn. Perfume was held in high esteem, partly as a preventive of the plague. No lady or gentleman's dress was complete without "pomander-chains" of civet and musk, or the "casting-bottle" of perfume, nor without a mirror in the hat or elsewhere on the person.

Masks.

The mask, always an important item in a dissolute Court, was an essential for ladies upon all public occasions, even for hunting. Unmasked ladies were "barefaced" and immodest, unless, like the Countess of Bedford, they could afford to defy fashion. Chamberlain writes that in 1613 that lady, one of the best in Anne's Court, "forbears painting, which, they say, makes her look somewhat strangely among so many vizards, which,

¹ Birch, "Court and Times of James I.," i., 228.

² Rye, cxxviii.



English Gentlewoman.



Lady of the Court of England.



Country Woman.



Merchant's Wife.

WOMEN'S DRESS UNDER CHARLES I.: BY W. HOLLAR.

together with their frizzled, powdered hair makes them [the ladies] look all alike." Besides masking and painting, patching with stars of mastic or black taffety was fashionable. Busino tells how he went to the theatre, and was "scarcely seated ere a very elegant dame, but in a mask, came and placed herself beside him." She tried to enter into conversation, and showed him "some

fine diamonds on her fingers, repeatedly taking off no fewer than three gloves, which were worn one over the other."



A LADY MASKED.

(By W. Hollar.)

"This lady's bodice was of yellow satin richly embroidered, her petticoat of gold tissue with stripes, her robe of red velvet with a raised pile, lined with yellow muslin with broad stripes of pure gold. She wore an apron of point lace of various patterns: her head-tire was highly perfumed, and the collar of white satin beneath the delicately wrought ruff, struck me as extremely pretty."¹

In excess of jewellery and extravagantly rich dress, Buckingham rivalled Elizabeth herself:—

"It was common with him at any ordinary dancing to have his clothes trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hat-bands, cockades, and ear-rings;

to be yoked with great and manifold knots of pearl. . . . At his going over to Paris in 1625 he had twenty-seven suits of clothes made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, gold, and gems could contribute, one of which was a white, uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at £14,000, besides a great feather, stuck all over with diamonds, as were also his sword, girdle, hat-band and spurs."²

Whatever was in fashion was what a Puritan would not

¹ Furnivall's "Harrison," p. 56*.

² Halliwell-Phillips, "Letters," ii., 204, note.

wear. When ruffs were in vogue, he wore a large falling band; when "pickadillies" (ruffs) were out of request (1638), and wide falling bands of delicate lawn edged with fine lace came in, he wore a very small band. Fashionable shoes were wide at the toe; his were sharp.¹ Fashionable stockings were, as a rule, of any colour except black; his were black. His garters were short, and, before all, his hair was short. Even at the end of Elizabeth's reign, short hair was a mark of "Round-heads."



GLOVES TEMP. JAMES I.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

Puritanism. In 1599 Jonson speaks in *Every Man Out of His Humour* of Puritans having—

"Religion in their garments, and their hair
Cut shorter than their eyebrows."

When "love-locks" were worn, no form of hair-dressing was to the Puritan mind more unlovely; in Prynne's eyes it was "that bush of vanity whereby the Devil leads and holds men captive." In 1641 the term "Roundhead" came in,² after the

¹ Fairholt, ed. Dillon, i., 308, quoting Rump songs.

² Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion," iv., 121.

first conflict between the Puritans and the mounted force of the Court party, who henceforth were "Cavaliers."

"What creature's this, with his short hairs,
His little band and huge long ears?"—

a Roundhead, whose unfashionable exposure of his ears made them seem preternaturally large. Sir P. Warwick, describing Cromwell's appearance in 1640, says:—

"His linen was plain, and not very clean; there were specks of blood on his little band, not much larger than his collar; his hat had no hat-band, and his sword stuck close to his side,"

instead of swinging in the fashionable sash. Cromwell's hair, however, was not close-cropped.

Though the Puritans did not approve of delicate or starched linen, they allowed their shirts to be embroidered with texts—

"She is a Puritan at her needle too;
She works religious petticoats."

The dramatists were never tired of making fun of the Puritan women, whose trades were often those created by the very fashions they condemned. They were feather-makers, tire-women and starchers, bugle-makers, French-fashioners, and confection-makers. Randolph makes a member of the "sanctified fraternity," Mrs. Flowerdale, appear on the stage carrying feathers, pins, and looking-glasses to sell in the play-house, and the words put into her mouth are—

"See, brother, how the wicked throng and crowd
To works of vanity! Not a nook or corner
In all this house of sin, this cave of filthiness,
This den of spiritual thieves, but it is stuffed,
Stuffed, and stuffed full, as is a cushion,
Of the lewd reprobate!"

Royalists
and
Puritans.

Though the strength of the Puritan party lay chiefly in the middle classes, it included men and women of all ranks; and the eccentricities of dress and manners adopted by zealots, though strictly characteristic of the party attitude, were not adopted by all its members. Men like Francis, Duke of Bedford; his son-in-law, Greville, Lord Brooke; the Earl of Essex; the Earl of Warwick—all members of the Puritan party;

and moderates like Lord and Lady Falkland, were less concerned with those accessory opinions which Puritanism drew to itself by a kind of elective affinity than with Puritanism as a political creed. The moderates of both parties lived generally in the country, in retirement, and did not attempt to influence any but the family circle. If Puritan, they were not all



COSTUME OF A LADY AND A CHILD (MS. Add. 32,496).

"Scandalised at toys,
As babies, hobby-horses, puppet-plays";¹

if Royalist, they did not all dress like Buckingham, or behave like the George Gorings, father and son. It was, however, the conduct of people of that type that drove a girl like Arabella Stuart to call herself a Puritan.²

¹ Ben Jonson, "Bartholomew Fair," 1614.

² E. T. Bradley, "Arabella Stuart," i., 137.

More truly typical of the leading men among the courtiers was such a man as William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, husband of Mary Sidney—cultivated, accomplished, possessed of the tact which comes of good breeding, rich enough to live without the favour of favourites, willing to serve the Court, but under no obligations to it, a patron of letters not merely for fashion's sake; but withal "not without some alloy of vice," over indulgent in pleasure, and wanting in moral dignity.¹

To speak only of the attitude of extremists in a social struggle is to caricature the history of social life. Nevertheless, it is true that the social, like the political, history of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. is the history of a struggle between opposing parties, a struggle so deadly that there could be no compromise. There was no hope that the one party could slowly influence the other, each taking of the other's best; it was war to the knife. The non-combatants no doubt exceeded the combatants, as is usual in all times of strife; but it is the nature of the combat that gives the social life of the early Stuarts its peculiar character.

From the time of James's accession the struggle had got beyond mere literary warfare. No spirited indictment of the times such as Harrison and Stubbes penned under Elizabeth came from the Stuart Puritans. The work of Prynne and of George Wither cannot compare with theirs in human interest.

That "illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men," the precisians or Puritans, against whom "every drunkard belched forth profane scoffs, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling," could no longer find vent for their feelings in speech or writing. They took refuge in sullen silence; and in this silence lay a portent ominous of the approach of civil war.

**JAMES
COLVILLE.**
Scotland,
1584-1642.

ALL the world has heard of the Five Members, Hampden and the Pilgrim Fathers, whereas few but the well informed are familiar with the long-suffering and the resolution of Knox, Andrew Melville, and the Covenanters, or appreciate the struggle they maintained. Yet Macaulay has told us that the great constitutional victory of the seventeenth century was first

¹ See Clarendon, "History," i., 123.



Brass of R. Glanfield and Wife, 1637, Hadleigh, Suffolk.



Brasses of R. Gadburye, his Daughter, and his Wife, 1624, Eyworth, Beds.

MIDDLE-CLASS COSTUME UNDER CHARLES I.

The
Church
Question,
1584-1625.

assured in Scotland. The attempt of the Stuart kings to thwart the religious sentiment of the nation was maintained over four reigns. It began with the manhood of James VI. The favourite Arran, humouring to the full the young king's views as to the royal prerogative, was astute enough to see that the power of the Kirk must be humbled. Andrew Melville, the intrepid successor of Knox, was the first object of attack; but he escaped to Berwick; and under the influence of this blow the Black Acts were passed (1584). Events changed complexion rapidly, however; and, with the fall of Arran the Kirk regained lost ground. The Second Book of Discipline, the charter of Presbyterianism, was ratified by Parliament in 1592. The reformers maintained a watchful attitude, and protested against a new attempt to introduce Prelacy. A speaker reminded the Dundee Assembly (1598), *à propos* of this attempt, how Ulysses craftily introduced the wooden horse. "Busk him as bonnily as ye can, we see the horns o' his mitre," exclaimed a protesting voice, and the proposal was dropped. The premature disclosure of the "Basilicon Doron" (1600), the king's lessons to his son on the mystery of kingcraft according to Divine right, showed the set of the current.

Church
and King.

The accession of James VI. to the English throne gave a new and powerful development to the royal prerogative in Scotland. There was nothing equivalent to the House of Commons, for the old feudal Parliament was rarely called. The king governed through his favourite, the Chancellor Dunbar, the minuteness and firmness of whose rule are conspicuous in the Privy Council Registers for the period. The upholder of popular rights was the Kirk. Based on the democratic system of Geneva, it was governed through its General Assembly, whose members included not only clergymen, but also lay representatives of the burgher and landlord classes. The king never had any love for this stiff-necked body, for here civil and spiritual came into conflict, and the independence claimed for the one was held to limit the prerogative of the other. The obsequious Parliament of 1606 declared the royal prerogative paramount, and restored the bishops. The nobles, indeed, looked askance on these proud rivals, but in spite of that they secured Consistory and High Commission Courts as well as genuine Apostolic ordination. The dauntless Andrew

Melville was summoned to London, imprisoned for four years in the Tower, and then exiled to France, where he died a professor at Sedan. Finally the Parliament of 1612 repealed the charter of 1592. The king now called an Assembly when and where he pleased.

The Church service was, in spite of these changes in Church polity, but little affected. A new force now intervenes in the person of Laud. As the king fought for the prerogative,

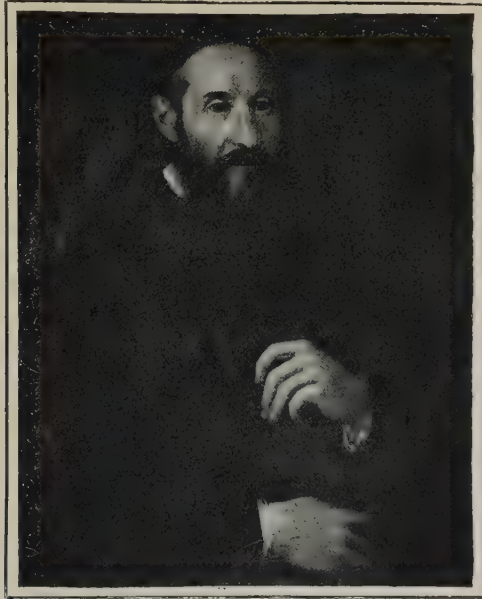


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

JOHN KNOX.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

supported by Prelacy, the archbishop panted after the phantom of uniformity enlightened by patristic theology and "the beauty of holiness." He had early fastened his gaze on the Kirk of the Scots, with its—to him—bald and unseemly ritual; but the king warned him, telling him how "he little kenned the stomach of that people." To no purpose; he began a course destined to culminate in St. Giles's Riots, the National Covenant, the Bishops' War, and ultimately the ruin of himself and his master, Charles I.

The King's
Visit, 1617.

Laud set himself at once to revive the festivals as the first instalment of a Church service. The antipathy to these was but a phase of the deep-rooted aversion to Romanism; and with this was conjoined a horror of witchcraft. The clergy, to divert them from the main attack, were indulged to the top of their bent in a crusade against "papisty" and witches. The old faith yet lingered in the fastnesses of feudalism—Galloway in the south-west and the Gordon country in Aberdeenshire. Aberdeen was fast becoming the Oxford of Scotland in the struggle. Its doctors were famous Latinists and upholders of "passive obedience." Here an Assembly had met in 1616, ostensibly to root out "papisty," but in reality to pave the way for a liturgy and the king's visit. Though he had parted from his loving people (1603) with tears in his eyes and protestations of an affection that would bring him back at least once a year, the king had been compelled, from chronic impecuniosity, to resist the salmon-instinct till now (1617). The king's ideal of "a grave, settled, well-ordered Kirk, in obedience of God and the king," was, however, slow in being realised. Still hoping to render his measures popular, the king sanctioned an Assembly to be held at Perth (1618). Here the famous Five Articles were drawn up. Forty-five clergymen protested against this introduction of ritualism. Three years later a Parliament was called, which ratified the obnoxious articles. Ominously impressive was the close of this eventful Parliament. A fearful thunderstorm burst over the Tolbooth. As the Royal Commissioner touched the Acts with the sceptre for confirmation, vivid flashes of lightning illuminated the solemn scene; the meeting broke up in terror and confusion; huge hailstones and torrents of rain cleared the streets; great floods and widespread scarcity followed. The day was long remembered as "Black Saturday."

The Five
Articles
of Perth.

The
Church
Question,
1625-1642.

Laud's untiring efforts to effect uniformity between the two kingdoms, while running counter to sentiments that had so long kept them apart, were yet destined to effect a union of heart and purpose in forcing on the constitutional crisis. The story has the unity and varied interest of a romance. The dramatic contrasts of the situation are marked by the two visits of the king, first in 1633, when he was glorying in the pride of assured success, and again in 1641, amid a growing sense of humiliation

and ultimate defeat. The interval is filled with such stirring *coups* as the St. Giles's Riots (1637), the National Covenant (1638), and the triumph of "the little old crooked soldier" on Duns Law (1639). Laud was the notable figure in the king's train. He left with the conviction that he had at last humbled



THE DOOR OF THE OLD TOLBOOTH.

(At Abbotsford. By permission of the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.)

the stomach of the people. "There needed only a liturgy to erect a well-ordered Church on the grave of Presbytery." But prelacy after Laud's visit developed on intolerable lines. "The Moderators [bishops in all but name] and the Consistory Courts," writes Baillie, "are able for a few words to put the brethren from their ministry, yea, cast them in the straitest prisons." The nonconforming remnant were cowed, while hirelings were flocking

The
Great
Upheaval.

to follow the new order. The colleges and schools were being filled up with teachers favourable to Laud.

Two of the bishops prepared a Service Book, which was revised by Laud so as to make it approach near to Romish practice, even restoring the confessional and prayers for the dead. A Book of Canons (1636) was issued, enjoining obedience to a liturgy not yet seen, and all this merely by a missive letter from the king to the Council, "as if," says Baillie, "Scotland were a pendicle of the diocese of York." At length came the scene at the reading of the new book in the transept of St. Giles', July 23, 1637. The magistrates were in terror of Laud. The



JENNY GEDDES'S STOOL.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.)

functions of government were suspended, for the officers of State were powerless. The bishops fled, and the king had no resources available but arrogance and obstinacy. The Tables, a standing Committee of Safety, assumed a watchful attitude under such leaders as the Lords Loudoun, Rothes, and Balmerino, the clergyman Alexander Henderson, and the lawyer

Johnstone of Warriston. These were the Eliots, Seldens, and Pym of the time. Their master-stroke was one hard night's work in reviving the Covenant of 1580. The fervid eloquence of Loudoun, the Mirabeau of the situation, set agoing the wholesale signing of the precious document. Well might Archbishop Spottiswood exclaim, "Now all we have been doing these thirty years by past is at once thrown down." November came, and with it the memorable General Assembly at Glasgow (1638), so anxiously looked forward to by both parties. The vast nave of the cathedral must have been a moving sight during that session of a month's duration, so vividly sketched by Baillie in all its varying moods of high-strung feeling. Prelacy is tried on grounds of policy, doctrine, and morals, and on all three con-

demned. "As for the Primate" [Spottiswood], writes Baillie, "his train and house have ever been naughty exceedingly. Orkney has been a curler on the ice on Sabbath. Forrester at Melrose made a peat-wagon of the old communion-table. *This monster was justly condemned.* The last day the nail was called (driven) to the head."—More romantic is the story of the Bishops' War that followed (p. 20), culminating in the triumph of the Covenanted army on the banks of the Tweed. An English soldier is reported to have said, "The bishops are discharged, not by canon law, nor by civil law, but by Duns Law" (1639). Then swiftly followed a free Assembly, a reforming Parliament, the march of the Blue Bonnets over the Border (1640), and the visit of the humbled king (1641), brought to a hurried close by the ominous report of rebellion in Ireland.

King James had not been without an honest desire to benefit his native country by the Union. His scheme of an "Incorporating Union" would have anticipated that of 1707. But the Scots saw in it the threat of organic changes in the Church system that had been nursed amid so much toil and trial. Equally distasteful was it to the English, to whom it portended a levelling up between the two kingdoms at their expense. Englishmen troubled themselves as little as did Imperial Romans to understand strange neighbours. Satirists in plays and pasquils gave warning of an influx from the North of what was deemed only a beggarly, thieving race. "Bonny Scot, England hath made thee a gentleman," said a popular pasquil, going on to note his rise in fortune. All that came of James's proposal was his use of the title "King of Great Britain," and the combination of the St. George and St. Andrew flags in the Union Jack. Pleasing to him must have been the verbal pleasantry that discovered in the name Albion *all-be-one*. But for long the change affected only the greater nobles, who lost lustre at home, and incurred heavier expenses by their greater distance from the Court.

The effects of the Union on law and order were slow in declaring themselves. The king, indeed, in a speech at Whitehall (1607), boasted of the contrast between the troublesome Commons and his submissive Scottish Parliament. "Here I sit," said he, "and govern Scotland with my pen. I write and it is done, and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword. There they must not speak without

The
Union.

Social
Order

the Chancellor's leave; seditious and uncomely speeches are straight silenced by him. No man can speak of any matter not first allowed by me. If in any law there be anything I dislike they rase it out." But this did not cover the distribution of even-handed justice. Blood feuds still disgraced the streets of the capital as well as the Border dales. The "backing of parties" at the bar was forbidden, but to little purpose. A judge was kidnapped and kept out of sight while a cause was pending. In the Court of Session the bench of fifteen judges in their velvet robes was imposing, but in the inferior courts Brereton, an English visitor, observed the greatest rudeness and disorder, two or three pleading together. Parliament House was a place of as



MEDAL OF THE UNION OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH CROWNS.

much resort and traffic as old Westminster Hall. Serious crime, however, apart from private revenge, was rare, according to Brereton who says: "Travelling out of the Borders and towards the north-east is safer than in England, and much civiler be they, and plainer English, yea, better than at Edinburgh."¹

The
Country.

To this age belong the fine houses that still adorn the best settled districts, begirt with gardens, parks, and noble trees, such as Seton, in East Lothian, "Wintoun's dainty seat on the sea," as Brereton calls it, where the third earl entertained James I. and

¹ Hector Boece remarked this peculiarity of the primitive Celts. "They that spekis with auld tounge of that cuntre [the Highlands] hes thair asperation, diptongis and pronounciation better than any other pepill." The superior English of Gaelic-speaking people is notable to this day among the educated. Dr. Johnson observed it at Inverness, and was credulous enough to repeat the old fiction of its having been due to the presence of Cromwell's soldiers, save the mark!



Pitreavie Castle, Fife.



Winton House, Haddington.



Craigston Castle, Aberdeenshire. *Photo: G. Milne, Tarriff.*



Glamis Castle, Forfarshire.

Photo: W. Mayor, Forfar.

TYPICAL SCOTTISH CASTLES.

Charles I. In its gardens were apple, walnut, sycamore, and other fruit trees, all growing well. The Earl of Lauderdale, not far off, writes to the Laird of Glenorchy (1637) begging a gift of fir-seed that he may cause his "awin gardeners winn it." In 1629 one of the Lowther family was travelling in Scotland, and his journal has lately been published (1893) among the Lonsdale Papers by the Historical MSS. Commission. He was entertained at the house of a borderer, Sir James Pringle of Galashiels, "one of the best *husbands* and planters. He hath a very pretty park with many natural walks; ponds and arbours are now making, with neat gardens and orchards. He has abundance of trees bearing a black cherry (geans), sycamores, and firs." Brereton (1636), travelling between Edinburgh and Glasgow, finds near Kirkintilloch a stately wood belonging to the great house of Fleming (Earls of Wigton). But there is little or no timber in the south and west, much less than in England. The country is poor and barren, "save where *helped by lime and seaweed* [note of an early improving husbandry]. A barren poor country extends from Glasgow to Irvine, much punished with drought." The fame of the Ulster plantations (1608) was still keeping up quite a mania for emigrating. Brereton was told that, in the last two years, ten thousand had shipped at Irvine for Ireland, chiefly from the country between Aberdeen and Inverness.

Town Life. Edinburgh in the war with Prelacy played the part of Puritan London in the great contemporary struggle. Brereton found the paving of the High Street worthy of praise, the kennels on both sides good, the pavement the fairest and largest to go on, though the usual promenade was the causeway, and crowded like a fair. But baxters and brewsters still kept stacks of furze and heather in the very heart of the city, while many of the side alleys were blocked with the goods of butchers and candlemakers. No one dared to walk after dark without his sword and lantern in the gloomy burrows leading off the main street. Here, as in provincial towns, the drummer announced the hours of rising and retiring (4 a.m. and 8 p.m.). The Canongate was now the place for fine mansions, "fairer," says Taylor, the Water Poet, "than the buildings in the High Street, for there the traders and merchants dwell." Brereton also admires "the houses of squared stone faced with boards. There are few or no glass windows, but the lining of boards has round holes shaped to men's heads.

These timber fronts encroach about two yards into the street." Provincial burghs are still small. Perth has a population of 9,000, Aberdeen and Paisley under 3,000. Greenock was but a single row of fishermen's huts. Dunfermline in 1624 had 120 houses and 287 families. Glasgow was already well built and prosperous, but not so large as Perth. Baillie felt proud of the part it played when the famous General Assembly was held here (1638), being glad to see such order and large provision above all men's expectations. Brereton admired its Tolbooth at the Cross,



MORAY HOUSE, EDINBURGH.

very fair and lofty, with a leaded flat roof affording a fine view. Its annual revenues reached £1,000. Lowther gives an interesting account of Selkirk, with the Tolbooth as handsomely tiled as the London Royal Exchange, and its church, where the great Buccleuch sat highest in his own private gallery.

Scotland, all through the seventeenth century, was so thoroughly permeated by religious ideas, and questions of faith and practice so entirely controlled public and private opinion, that one obtains through the study of Church life the best insight into the social condition of the people. The striking revulsion

Church
Life.

of feeling that marked the parting with the past at the Reformation affected, in the first instance, the sanctity of the church building and precincts, and contributed to that decline of ecclesiastical architecture, and that contempt for consecrated places and things which so shocked Laud during his visit (1633).



THE TRON STEEPLE, GLASGOW.

When the Book of Canons (1636) enjoined that the house of God be in no ways profaned, nay, nor the churchyard, "Ergo," concluded the historian, Row, "the bishops would have the place held holy"—a doctrine evidently considered monstrous. The barons, who had seized the temporalities of the old Church, were well content with this state of feeling, and left the upkeep of sacred fabrics to the ministers and people. The Kirk has been blamed for the vandalism that allowed the sacred edifices to go to ruin—among the worst vandals Scotland ever saw were the English Hertford and Oliver Cromwell—but the means to maintain them had passed out of the Kirk's keeping. They were practically useless, too, as not falling in with reformed practice. Some burghs had a genuine desire for ecclesiastical decency. Perth Kirk Session instructed (1586) the minister to leave his *ordinary* text (p. 251)

and treat some portion of Scripture meet to move the hearts of the people, and especially the magistrates, to the reparation of the Church in all decent and honest form.

Church
Precincts.

The neglect of graveyards was still a reproach. The want of taste characteristic of the age was nowhere more conspicuous than in the treatment of the dead. Churchyards were not only as a rule unfenced, but they were the village greens. Kirk and market were close together. The blame lies at the door of the

system of land tenure. Few village-greens, commons, or open spaces are of old date, for the landowners were ungenerous, and the mass of householders mere tenants-at-will. The church shared in the treatment of the churchyard, for the chancel or holy of holies was used as the village schoolroom. Thus the landlords were saved the expense both of schoolroom and playground. In the fine old church of Leuchars, where Alexander Henderson, joint-author of the National Covenant, was minister, the chancel was used merely as a tool-house, and its lovely Norman arch built up and completely hid from view till recent years. 'As if to make the people forget the Creed, the pulpit was placed against the south wall. Where the rough stone slates of the district were used for roofing, they were laid over a layer of moss. Rural churches were usually long, narrow, and dimly lighted, so that each worshipper was wont to bring his candle to winter service. Such windows as existed seldom had glass, for glazed houses were a rarity everywhere. The area of the church was generally left unseated. Folding stools and cushions were used by many weak or ostentatious members. Among the expenses of the great Montrose when a student at Glasgow is an item for a velvet cushion for church. When pews were put in, they were let for behoof of the poor. In early days they were reserved for the great. In 1603 an attempt of the town-clerk of Stirling to put up a movable desk for his wife before the Countess of Argyll's seat was forbidden as presumptuous. Every big laird built an aisle for himself in the form of a gallery, with the family vault beneath, and having a separate entrance. In burghs the craftsmen formed galleries for themselves, as of old they endowed altars for the patron saint. Women sat by themselves on folding stools, generally in front of the men. They greatly exercised the pastors. Many forbade them to sit in time of sermon with plaids drawn over the head, this being a cloak to their sleeping.

Church
Interiors.

The policy of James, and still more that of Charles, under the guidance of Laud, drove Scotland as far as possible from Romanist and Lutheran practice alike. Originally the Reformers were more busied with polity than ritual. For long a liturgy had been used and a psalm-book with the order therein for prayers, marriages, and communion. This, known as Knox's Liturgy, continued in more or less general use till 1637. There

Church
Services.

gradually grew up, however, a fanatical dread of *papistry* and the like idolatrous practices. Brereton describes the order of worship in Edinburgh churches very fully (1636). The reader continued to be employed till 1645, when the order was sup-



LAIRD'S GALLERY FROM OLD PITSLIGO CHURCH, ABERDEENSHIRE.

pressed. "He had often to appear in his desk as early as seven o'clock; and again, he had to do duty from the close of afternoon service till six. The minister entered the pulpit at ten. In rural districts the reader was often clergyman, school-master, clerk and leader of psalmody. The strong point of the service was

the preaching. This was called the Ordinary, the reader's part the Exercise. Skipping or *divagation* from place to place of



PAINTED PANEL FROM THE
SAILORS' GALLERY, CRAIL
CHURCH, FIFESHIRE.

Scripture was not approved of by authority, so that the same text lasted for months. Baillie, in London at the Westminster Assembly, was pleased to hear two English preachers adopt the Scotch style, "laying well about them and charging public and parliamentary sins strictly on the backs of the guilty." The preacher would give one turn during his sermon to his half-hour sand-glass on a week-day, but two on the Sabbath. Spalding speaks of the Covenanting agents in Aberdeen (1642) giving four hours' doctrine to "ilk sermon, and the gryte God luikin down upon their hypocritical humiliations, be all appearans not well plesit nor

deulie worshippit." But Aberdeen was hostile to the Covenant.

The great service of the year was the Communion. Here Laud's innovation consisted in his approach to the Mass by converting the table into an altar, and substituting kneeling for sitting, all which was extremely unpopular. The reformers in using a table had simply treated the open area of the church as a baronial hall, and introduced, for the common meal, boards on trestles. Not till 1775 was it general to communicate in fixed pews as is the custom now. Sometimes the table was literally *fenced*, as at Edinburgh in 1562, when a



PANEL AT BURNTISLAND CHURCH.

wooden pailing or *travess* [Lat. *trabes*, beams] was used "for holding furth of ye non-communicants." For Communion took the place of both Confessional and Mass, serving not only as a religious exercise but as an instrument of discipline.

Church
Manners.

The demeanour of worshippers displayed an ungraceful departure from ancient ritual, showing that confusion between independence and boorishness which democratic feeling is apt to engender. The congregation sat with hats on, and eschewed

kneling and other attitudes of reverence. Latterly hats or bonnets were drawn aside or removed during prayers. Sitting throughout the service was usual. In Bishop Cowper's days (1600-25) some had the politeness to uncover, and people were allowed, even by the bishops and episcopal clergy, to do in this matter as they pleased. The beadle was charged with the regulation of behaviour, and with red staff in hand like a verger, wakened sleepers when flat book-boards were introduced. Boys sometimes ran about in sermon time, clattering and fighting. In



PANEL SHOWING TRADE SIGNS, BURNT-ISLAND CHURCH.

1621 a merchant was abused by a set of young professed knaves who cast their bonnets at him in service. Aberdeen Session wisely (1616) ordered that "bairns not of sic age that they can take themselves to a seat, but *vaig* through the kirk in sermon time, should be kept at home." An Act of Parliament (1551) went further and directed that such should be *leished* [lashed]. It was difficult in some cases to secure attendance on ordinances. Officers were ordained at Aberdeen (1603) to stand at the door and hold in or bring back "sic as removis befor their blessing be endit except they be seik and may not endure sa lang." Andrew Cant debarred from Communion all ordinary sleepers in time of sermon, if they were strong and healthy. An Act of

1640 prohibited snuffing in time of sermon. Upon the whole, however, eighteenth-century writers all say that there was much greater appearance of decorous behaviour in Scotch than in English churches.

In no particular has the Kirk been so severely censured as in its rigid discipline, likened to that of the Spanish Inquisition. This arises from exaggeration or a misreading of the spirit of the times. The Kirk merely tried to render the effete discipline of the Romish Church effective, not only for edification, but for regulating morals and preserving order. In those days there was no poor-law and no police, while justice was weak and corrupt. The effect of the Presbyterian *régime* on public morals was marked. Lyndsay's "Satire" (Vol. III., p. 147) could not have been exhibited under the rule of the Kirk, for its shocking licentiousness and profanity would not have been tolerated. Kirton, perhaps, too favourably puts the case for the Kirk: "No scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was betwixt ministers and congregations" (1650). A common punishment was the pillar of repentance or the *high place*, because originally in a prominent position. A delinquent once, by reason of a distemper in his head, craved permission to stand *laich* [low]. Penitents wore sackcloth. In extreme cases the punishment had to be repeated in neighbouring parishes, and this was called "circular satisfaction." It was the duty of the elders to visit in the district and keep up a correspondence, so as to checkmate habitual offenders. An hour or two in the *jougs*, or iron collar fixed to the church wall, was the punishment for brawling

Church
Discipline.

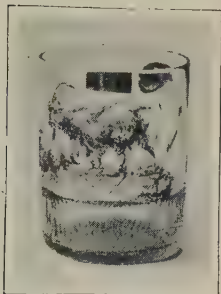
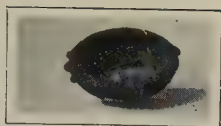


SACKCLOTH GOWN OF REPENTANCE.
(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities,
Edinburgh.)

women and slanderers. The severest punishment was exclusion from communion. The active police were the elders, and their efforts to check slander, drunkenness, and immorality—their selves, mayhap, not clean-handed—must have tended to develop in them hypocrisy and petty persecution. As far back as 1640 “two elders were ordained to go through the hamlet of Galston (Ayrshire) at ten o’clock at night, so as to advertise the minister that the hour was keipit by the taverners.” Hence the expression, “elders’ hours.” These men were called *civilisers*.

Manners
and Fur-
niture.

It is possible to imagine these Scots of the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. in habit as they lived—dress, furniture, *plenishing*, and the refinement all these imply—from the inventories which accompany their wills. That of Lady Fairlie, for example, from North Ayrshire, shows her to have been a good specimen of the thrifty housewife of the olden time. She left a goodly store of feather and nap beds, cods and codwaris (pillow-slips), sheets and blankets, arras work, curtains with sewit ribbons, buird (table) cloths, serviettes, towels, pots (iron and brass), a dozen plates (pewter), trenchers, *a broken candlestick*, cooking and brewing utensils, a meikil auld kist, and a large stock of cattle and victuals. The spouse of Mure of Rowallan was a grand dame, leaving (1613) gorgeous articles in velvet, satin, and taffeta, riding cloaks, women saddles, silver spoons (5), two gold rings, and gold necklace. The well-to-do laird of Portincross, now a picturesque ruin perched on the rocks that overlook the Cumbræ, had (1621) a bewildering list, from tidy kye, plough naigis, queys, stirks, boats and ploughs to napery and kitchen stuff. A burgess of Dunfermline has an inventory still more curious, containing such interesting articles as a silver pyke-tooth, a pik-lug (for the ear), a timber washstand, a stretching-goose (flat-iron), a bullet for breaking coals, a hanging flowered chandelier for the hall, a broth plate, and a dozen tin plates. These inventories show an absence of furniture in the form of chairs, bedsteads, tables, and the like, as well as of earthenware, not to speak of much now deemed not only useful but necessary. Money is bequeathed generally only in the form of outstanding debts. But there is evidence of comfort and even luxury according to the standard of the time. Fortunately we have the economy of a country gentleman’s household sketched to the



Wooden Cup and Ale Cup.



Sand-glass and Stand.



Tailors' Candlesticks in the shape of Roman Altars.



Spoons.

RELICS OF DAILY LIFE.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.)

life in the journal of young Lowther (1629). There we see Sir James Pringle's servitors, with hats 'on, serving the dinner, the basin before each guest to wash hands, the hosts' grace before sitting down, the *menu* of soups, meats, game, cheese, and fruit; the decorous array, after dinner, of serviettes for the beer-cup and the strong waters, the three singing-boys for the Thanks and Paternoster, and lastly the *caup of ale* as collation before bed. Beautiful, too, is the morning stirrup-cup at parting. Even at a humble bailiff's, near Langham, he finds good cheer—mutton and fowls, girdle-cakes, wheatbread and ale. No wonder Mark Napier, after showing at length, from family papers, the domestic life of the great Montrose, in his youth, is severe on Macaulay's statement that the Scottish gentlemen of the Union dressed, fed, and were housed in the manner of the Icelanders in his day.

Discussion was carried on amid coarse, bitter, and vulgar words. The rabble of the towns must have been schooled into rough manners by the sights of the time, the jousts and the cuck-stool, the ducking of scolds, the branding and burning of witches. The case of Stercorius, a Pole, was a hard one. After a visit to Scotland, where he appeared in national costume, and met with a rough reception, he published a "Legend of Reproaches" against the nation. It was declared to be an infamous book, and the king, hearing of it, took pains to have the author prosecuted and beheaded in Danzig for the insult. James was relentless towards satirists. Even good Robert Baillie was moved to adverse criticism of native manners by the behaviour of the crowds that blocked the way all up the High Street of Glasgow, even to the door of the Cathedral, when the Assembly sat there in 1638. Brereton's description of the Edinburgh populace is not unfavourable, considering the time. "The people," he says, "are slothful. They fetch water only every second day; at best it is bad enough. (The city not long afterwards brought in the first instalment of a gravitation supply.) . . . The nobler sort are brave, well bred, and much reformed of late. The greatest part of the people are very honest and zealously religious, few drink or swear. Their sluttishness and nastiness, however, are very bad. Their pewter vessels are never scoured for fear of wearing the metal." The sanitation was horrifying.

Travellers found little that was peculiar to note in the dress,



A SCOTCHWOMAN.
(By W. Hollar.)

at least, of the better classes. The attire of peasants was distinctive, down to the age of Burns. They wore a vest of *plaiden* [coarse woollen], close-buttoned, and having skirts falling upon the thighs and secured at the waist by a belt of leather, for braces only came in with the nineteenth century. The breeches buttoned at the knee over hose of grey plaiden. Over all was a capacious coat of black and white wool, having large buttons coarsely formed on wooden moulds and covered with cloth. The necktie or overlay was a square *twilling* of coarse yarn, carried twice round the neck and then buttoned to the vest. The bonnet was of wool, and generally blue in colour. The better class of peasants wore linen shirts; in upland districts they were of coarse wool, and changed not oftener than four times a year. In the Highlands gentlemen had no such distinctive dress as they are now credited with; for family tartans, plumed bonnets, philabegs, and brooches, are all comparatively modern creations. In the Cawdor Papers tartan plaids occur, but they mean blankets for night coverings. Tartan was made and worn all over the country, but style and pattern were not objects of interest. Taylor, at a great hunting on the Braes of Mar (1618), witnessed all the rough dress, equipment, and manners of a fast vanishing feudalism.

The Kirk laid a heavy hand on popular merriment in the matter of Holy days, frowning down all but the Sabbath and

Dress



THE BONNIE SCOT IN ENGLAND.
(Roxburghe Ballad.)

Sports.

the week-day preachings. James VI. tried to counteract this by publishing the "Book of Sports" (1618). It was part of the episcopal policy to encourage such diversions, to the great scandal of their rivals; hence Calderwood, the historian, tells how, when Bishop Cowper was near his end (1619), he was on Leith Links at his pastime of golf, and was terrified with a vision. *Shortly after he died.* Cards and dice brought an indelible stain on the players, who were abhorred and shunned for using the devil's prayer-book and beads. Horse-racing was too old a favourite for the clergy to stamp out, and it held its ground all through on Leith Links and at Paisley. The household expenses of the great Montrose, when a student at St. Andrews, depict the gay life of a baron's son. He is constantly careering up and down the country on horseback, incurring liberal charges for shoeing horses, for setting them up with ale after fatigue, for sport at the butts, and especially for golf clubs and balls to play with at Leith or St. Andrews or Montrose. His father seems to have been an inveterate smoker. His expenditure on pipes and tobacco is excessive. Hawking was also a favourite with the young marquis, and most dainty attentions do his hawks receive. A characteristic letter of the king's, dictated by his love of falconry, is that to Fraser of Philorth. James has heard that Fraser has the best hawk in all the country, and, "seeing hawks are but giftin gear, and nae otherwise to be accounted betwix us and you, being sae well acquainted," he asks that the bearer be allowed to bring away the bird with him.

**Super-
stition.**

The raid upon those poor crazy creatures, or designing quacks, the witches and wizards, was ever popular. Their trials form a gloomy but characteristic page in the darker annals of superstition in Scotland. At this time these were in full swing, and the hunt for papists and witches was always encouraged by the Government so as to divert attention from the insidious setting-up of Prelacy. But not only did such medieval superstitions survive; even relics of paganism were not unknown, such as the "Goodman's Croft" (a euphemism for the Evil One). This was a breadth of land at the end of the field that was left untilled, and even for a century later was known in Buchan as the "Heelie Man's Rig." "The Flying" of Montgomerie is rich in such relics with its wraiths [spectral

appearances to the *fey* or doomed to die], bogles [freakish goblins], brownies [kindly spirits], kelpies [water-sprites], gyrcarlins [witches], and hell-hounds.

While the age was of infinite importance in shaping national character, it was not favourable to culture. The Kirk unconsciously seconded the efforts of King James as "schoolmaster of the nation" in his peculiar fashion. In pure literature the period was barren, save for such mediocrities as Aytoun, Alexander, Montgomerie, and even Drummond, though he has secured a wider reputation. With the exception of Montgomerie, a second-rate Dunbar, these all avoided the vernacular, and buried their art in a feeble endeavour to imitate the Southrons. In prose the Church historians worthily follow in the steps of Buchanan, Knox, and Melville. If we may judge by Baillie, the rural clergy took a keen interest in public news. From his cousin Spang, in Campvere, he receives *Courants*, and the *Mercurie François* of Amsterdam and Paris. He wishes the books sent to him, too, to be in leather, and failing that, in parchment, "rather than be fashed [bothered] and extorted with James Sanders in Glasgow," whose binding had been displeasing.

The Universities suffered from the noisy polemics of the time and the intriguing churchmen. No wonder Boyd, Principal at Glasgow, longed (1623) to retire to a country charge, wearied of being "angreit wi bairns." Brereton found an attempt being made to go on with the new Pedagogium, and give the College of Glasgow at last a local habitation. This building was not erected till 1656. "The library," says Brereton, as he saw it, "is not twice so long as my old closet. They have four regents, a principal, and 120 students." In Aberdeen the doctors were Latinists of European repute, but hopelessly prelatie. A visitation in 1618 had found its affairs verging on ruin through neglect or dishonesty, but Bishop Patrick Forbes effected a sweeping reform. Here we have the first hint that it is the age of Harvey and his great discovery. In 1636 Gordon, Professor of Anatomy, hitherto compelled to illustrate his lectures by dissecting beasts, secures from the Privy Council a warrant allowing him the corpses of a couple of malefactors, or, failing that, of friendless poor. Another note of progress is Robert Gordon's aid in producing and contributing to Blaeu's

Culture.

The Universities.

Atlas (1637-54). His son, of Rothiemay, did good topographical work, and was among the first to study drawing.

Schools.

This period witnessed an attempt (1616) to set up country schools, and make Knox's much-belauded plan more than the paper scheme it ever was. But little or nothing was really done, and the parochial school system remained till the present century a starved and imperfect sham. A few burgh schools formed the only institutions worthy of the name, and of one of these (Montrose) James Melville has given a very interesting account. Baillie tells how he was engaged (1614) to be assistant to the aged and decayed schoolmaster of Glasgow, who had under him above three hundred children. Baillie graduated that year, and after two sessions as usher he was made a regent in the college. At Kilwinning he did his best to get the laird (Eglinton) to support a school, but the master's pittance of twenty marks was allowed to remain three years unpaid. Catechising by the reader was still almost the only form of rural education. The barons' sons had tutors, who, as in the case of Montrose, accompanied them to the university town and there guided their studies. Thereafter they generally went abroad for a time. To this liberal provision of tutoring, and not to school or university training, did the learned Scots of old owe the greatness they were able to achieve. The Cawdor Papers show what was done for female education. The girls of the family went to Mistress Campbell's school at Edinburgh. Mistress Margaret (unmarried ladies would then have scorned to be called Miss) learned the viol da gamba, the virginals, and the harpsichord. She worked a cabinet for her father with the needle, and learned to make pastry. Music, French, and dancing were taught by masters. Her ladyship of Cawdor concerned herself with housekeeping, read devotional books of the Puritan type, and followed the old custom of signing her letters with her maiden name, H. Stewart. Baillie addresses his wife as "My Heart," and uses the homely *thou*.

**Wealth
and
Poverty.**

From the frequent allusion to broken men we see that capital was limited and credit hampered. The treatment of the *dylvour* (debtor) must have been dictated by the traditions of the old Church. Beside the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh stood the Dyvours' Stane, where, under pain of three months' imprisonment, they had to appear from ten o'clock till an hour

after dinner, clad in the hated colour of the medieval Jew—a yellow bonnet, and a coat one half yellow and the other half brown. Beggars abounded, and in the absence of a poor-law,



SECTION OF A MAP OF SCOTLAND FROM BLAEU'S ATLAS.

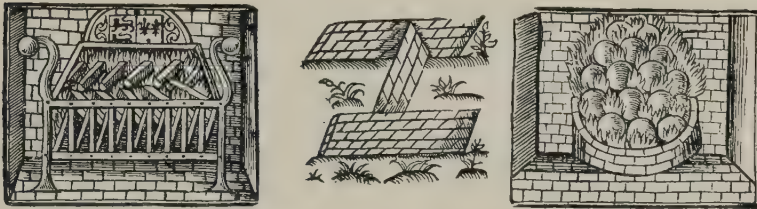
lunatic asylums, hospitals, and habitable jails, the loathsome sights and rude importunities must have made the streets intensely disagreeable. The poor congregated at every church door and appealed to the charitable. A beautiful picture of

benevolence is that of the testament of Robert Boyd of Cumbernauld, a cadet of the great house of Kilmarnock, who died in 1611. He requests his executors, the Earl of Abercorn and the Principal of Glasgow University, "to protect his poor tenants and servitors untroubled, to keep them in their right, and get them it that pertains to them." He directs that he be buried in the old fashion. "Friends that come to my convey are to be honestly treated as becomes." His special servants are to get suits of *duill* [Fr. *deuil*] gowns, and twelve poor followers the same with hose and shoes. He would die at peace, so he orders to be repaid to a neighbour what he got from him "wrongful quhilk my conscience is burdenit with," and to another a sum owing for "rang that I thoct I did to him." Other charitable provisions follow, all kindly and thoughtful, and socially of great interest. The king's bedesmen, in number as the years of his age, wore a blue cloak with pewter badge. Cloaks and wallets, containing Scotch shillings, were given out to them on the king's birthday beside the Lucken-booths in Edinburgh. One merchant—Sir William Dick—was quite a prince among burgesses. He began his successful career by farming the Orkney Crown rents, traded to the Baltic and Mediterranean, and was among the first to negotiate bills of exchange with Holland. It was at his door, in High Street, opposite the main entrance to St. Giles', that Davie Deans' father saw the sacks of dollars carried off to pay the Covenanting army at Duns Law.

Trade and
Commerce.

Neither the Union of 1603 nor that of 1707 proved so favourable to the commerce of the Scots as they ought to have done, owing to the jealousy of English trades and the fiscal regulations of Parliament. At first it was enacted that the English trade should be carried only in English vessels, which was a great blow to the growing commerce of the Scots, specially as they shared largely in the carrying trade of France. The small coast burghs were now slowly developing. James Melville tells how his parishioners of Anstruther and Kilrenny, having suffered much from pirates, fitted out (1584) a retaliatory expedition which pursued and overtook the pirate craft on the Sussex coast, whence they returned with flying colours. The Forth sailors went so far afield as to fall sometimes into the hands of the Barbary pirates. It was also one of the grievances

of the Covenanters that their ships were detained over sea and their cargoes confiscated by the king's Government. As evidence that the Forth ports were now alive to the needs of navigation, a Fife laird obtained authority (1635) to erect a tower forty feet high on May Island. On this a coal fire burned all the year round over night. Berwick soon fell into decay after the Union. Brereton found (1636) in its narrow shallow harbour but one little *pink* of forty tons and a few fishing boats. The chief Ports. port was Leith, owing to the growth of the capital and the extension of the coal and salt trades. Lowther saw here (1629) one hundred and fifty sail of about two hundred tons each, which sounds like exaggeration. He thought the town fairer



THE DEMAND FOR SCOTTISH COAL.

(*"Artificial Fire,"* 1644.)

than Carlisle, and admired its churches, almshouses, and new stone bridge. The oysters dredged off the port went to Newcastle and Carlisle. Taylor, the Water Poet, reports (1618) a large export trade here in grain, and import of wine. Brereton's account (1636) is less favourable: "Port not large; two neat wooden piers run up into the river, but not one ship saw I betwixt them."

A tariff of dues was drawn up in 1612 for the guidance of the farmer of the Crown revenues at the port. In 1609 the king let for a yearly rent of 115,000 merks the whole customs, inward and outward. This tariff is of extreme interest, showing in its list of materials for manufacture, tools, and implements of husbandry and women's work, the growth of native industry, as well as evidencing, in such luxuries as drugs, surgical instruments, and even children's toys and warming-pans, a standard of living refined for the time. The export of food materials is permitted only under licence, and the restriction applies also to wool, yarn, gold, and silver. After this date there

Customs
and
Exports.

Coal and
Salt.

is evidence of an increasing export of linen-yarn, coal, salt, hides, and oats. London and Flanders fairly divide the trade. But the staples are coal and salt. Brereton found salt-pans, some larger than he saw at Shields, all along both sides of the Forth almost to Stirling. At Culross Sir George Bruce was showing uncommon enterprise in coal-working. He had sunk a unique shaft that was one of the wonders of the day. His pits were visited by the king (1617) and by Taylor (1618). The average weekly earnings of a collier and his family was five merks (5s. 6d.).

Manu-
facture.

The merchant guilds seriously hampered the growth of manufactures, and thwarted attempts to settle colonies of Flemings in the Canongate (1609), and of Dutch in Leith Wynd, Edinburgh (1619). Brewing on a large scale was now successfully introduced by Englishmen in the Pleasance, outside of Edinburgh, where Brereton found the vastest leads, keeves [tubs], cisterns, and combs [vats] he ever saw. A quaint illustration of the views of the Privy Council on new industries is a proclamation (1615) anent the unlawful and pernicious trade of exporting eggs. In similar terms the export of tallow is denounced. The story of the rise of glass-making (1610) at Wemyss in Fife, of chemicals by a Fleming at Musselburgh (1612), and of herring-curing and soap-making (1619), are all of much interest. The testament of a *walker* (dyer and bleacher) in Stewarton, Ayrshire (1610), gives the earliest hint of what in time became the great cloth trade of the West. The cattle trade was one of the first to be developed between the two kingdoms, mainly because transit was easy. Ultimately it reached enormous proportions, but at first was confined to Galloway and Annandale. Baillie tells of the complications caused by the Mayor of Newcastle arresting the horses bought at Maton Fair for the Scotch dealers, for it hindered all the drovers from going through England with their cattle. His own account of the trains of packhorses he passed on going up to London, of the roads, and the inns, is highly instructive.

Travel.

Visitors found a great lack of inns, and had to content themselves with lodgings in private houses. Interesting details of expenses and accommodation are furnished by Lowther and Brereton. The dangers of travelling were many from the paucity of bridges, and the frequency of dangerous fords, and

wide and stormy ferries. The Tweed at Berwick had a new bridge of fifteen arches in 1611, and this is still used ; but there



TOMB OF SIR GEORGE BRUCE, CULROSS CHURCH.

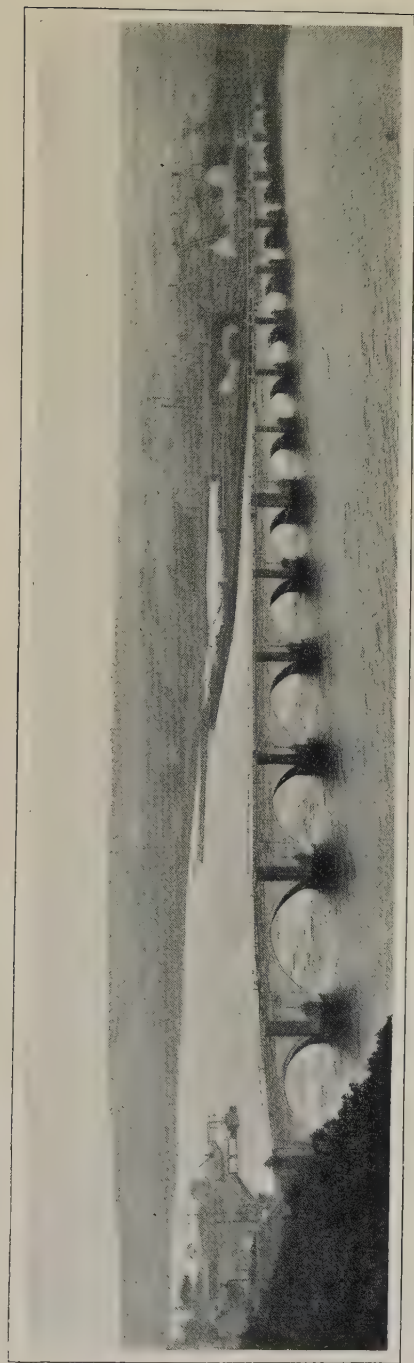
was no other till Peebles was reached. Taylor, on the western road, forded the Esk and Annan on foot, while the horses were

ridden across by the boy who usually trudged along ahead, pike-staff in hand. He took the horses always back to the hirer for the stage. The Tay at Perth had a wooden bridge at a very early date, but this had long been swept off, and till the present bridge was opened (1771) the fierce river was crossed by boats. At Dumfries, Ayr, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were fine old stone bridges, and they are all in use still, except Bishop Rae's over the Clyde, removed within living memory. The arrangements at the important ferry of Portpatrick were long most rude and primitive. Horses and cattle were simply thrown into the sea and made to swim to the shore, which is here particularly wild and rocky.

Though there was abundance of material at hand, it was long before roads were made fit for wheels. Queen Anne and the young prince, left behind in 1603 at Stirling, came on to Edinburgh some time after, arriving at St. Giles' Church "weel convoyit wi' coaches, the queen and prince in her awn coach whilk cam wi her out of Denmark." They heard a good sermon and thereafter rode to Holyrood. When Laud went to Dunblane (1638), his travelling experiences perturbed the little man. He calls it "a very dangerous and cruel journey, crossing part of the Highlands by coach, *which was a wonder there.*" The new bridge at Leith (1619) had a long list of tolls, but no wheeled vehicle is mentioned. The first attempt at a public conveyance was made (1610) between Edinburgh and its port of Leith, but it did not come to much. State business during the troubles (1638) led to the establishing of a line of post-horses between the capitals. News in general came very seldom, and only by special bearer or friendly hand. Baillie writes to Spang at Campvere, the Scottish merchants' settlement in Holland, in 1637: "It was above six weeks after the coming home of our Glasgow merchants that your letters, promised with them, came to hand. It is marvellous that in all our country we should have no word from over sea, more than we have in America." Through the same channel foreign newspapers reached him.

P. W.
JOYCE.
Ireland
and
England.

JAMES I. was the first English king whom the Irish spontaneously and universally acknowledged as their lawful sovereign; for in one of his lines of descent he had come from their own ancient race of kings. They believed, too, that he was a Catholic, and that he would restore the Catholic religion, as Queen Mary



BERWICK OLD BRIDGE.

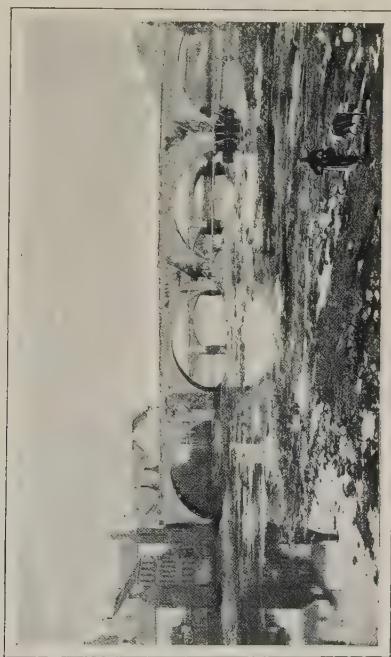


Photo: Barra, Ayr.

TWA BRIGS O' AYR.



Photo: R. Gearing, Aberdeen.

BRIG O' BALGOWNIE, ABERDEEN.

had done. But when they began to resume possession of their churches and celebrate Mass in them, Mountjoy—who was still deputy—promptly stopped the movement and restored the churches to the Protestant clergy. Soon afterwards the two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were revived; and again fines were frequently inflicted on “Recusants,” as those Catholics were called who refused to attend Protestant worship.

Soon after the Battle of Kinsale, Red Hugh O'Donnell died in Spain. His brother Rory succeeded him, and was created Earl of Tirconnell by King James I., who at the same time confirmed O'Neill in his title of Earl of Tyrone. The two earls settled down on their estates as loyal subjects; but they were not permitted to live in peace. They were dogged by spies, harassed with litigation, and subjected to all sorts of annoyance and humiliation by officials and others who coveted their lands and longed for more confiscation. At last a false story of a new conspiracy was concocted, and their arrest appeared imminent. Finding it impossible to live at home in peace and safety, they took ship by night from Donegal, in 1607, and left their native country for ever, with their families and a few followers. They took up their residence in Rome, where O'Donnell died in 1608 and O'Neill in 1616.

The
O'Doherty
Rising.

The hasty and reckless rising, in 1608, of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, the young chief of Innishowen in Donegal, was a mere outburst of private revenge. He had been on the side of the Government; but having been grossly insulted by Sir George Paulett, Governor of Derry, he suddenly rose up with his followers, took Culmore Fort by treachery and Derry by surprise, massacred the garrisons of both, and slew Paulett. Two months afterwards he was shot dead in a skirmish, and the rising at once collapsed.

Though the two Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell had committed no unlawful act by flying from Ireland, yet nearly all the arable land of six counties of Ulster—Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, and Cavan—about three-quarters of a million English acres—was confiscated, including not only the estates of the earls, but also those of hundreds of others who had never committed any offence against the State. Immediately afterwards, in 1608, King James entered on his

favourite project of the Plantation of Ulster. A large part of the confiscated land was divided into "lots" of three different sizes—2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres. The 2,000-acre lots were granted to English and Scotch undertakers, who were to people them with English and Scotch Protestant tenants—no Irish. The 1,500-acre lots were given to "servitors"—those who had served the Crown in Ireland—who might take English, Scotch, or Irish tenants: undertakers and tenants to be all Protestants. The undertakers and tenants of the 1,000-acre lots might be English, Irish, or Scotch, of any religion, and the Catholics were not to be called on to take the oath of supremacy. Besides the ordinary "lots," great districts were given to London companies of merchants or tradesmen, and to certain high officials. The Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, who had the entire management of the Plantations, received for his share the whole of Innishowen, Sir Cahir O'Doherty's territory; and large tracts were set apart for religious and educational purposes—all Protestant. Only 286 of the old proprietors were provided for, who got just one-ninth of the whole escheated territory. All the rest—the great body of the native people, guiltless of any offence—were ordered to depart and provide for themselves wherever they could. But most clung to their native place and took refuge among the sterile uplands surrounding their own comfortable homes, to brood over their wrongs and supply vengeful material for the first rebellion. This was by far the most successful of all the Plantations; and in a few years a great part of the richest land of Ulster was peopled by English and Scotch settlers. To help to pay the expenses the king created the new order of "baronet." Each recipient of this honour had to pay, in instalments, altogether about £1,095, which went to the support of the soldiers in Ulster.

The
Plantation
of Ulster.



AN IRISHWOMAN.

(By W. Hollar.)



Photo : A. Ayton, Londonderry.
GREENCASTLE, CO. DONEGAL.

The Par-
liament
of 1613.

Sir Arthur Chichester now resolved to summon a Parliament—the first for twenty-seven years. But he first took steps—under the king's authority—to secure a Protestant majority by creating forty new boroughs, each to send two members, and nearly all among the Ulster settlers. Most of these were spurious—mere hamlets with a dozen electors, or less. This unconstitutional proceeding had serious ultimate consequences. The plan was in the first instance projected for use against the Catholics; but in subsequent times, long after the whole Catholic representation had been swept away by the penal laws, these sham boroughs remained, an unreformed aid to corruption; for so long as they continued to exist, the Government, by cheap bribery, could—and often did—make use of them to secure a majority. They were extinguished at the Union in 1800. When Parliament met, in 1613, scenes of great violence occurred; for though the “recusant” or Catholic party were in a minority, they were still very strong, and vehemently insisted on their rights. After they had forced the Government to correct some of the grossest of the election abuses, matters went on quietly. Large sums were voted to the king, who was always in money difficulties; the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell were most unjustly attainted (in this case the confiscation had come first; attainder after); some old penal statutes against natives

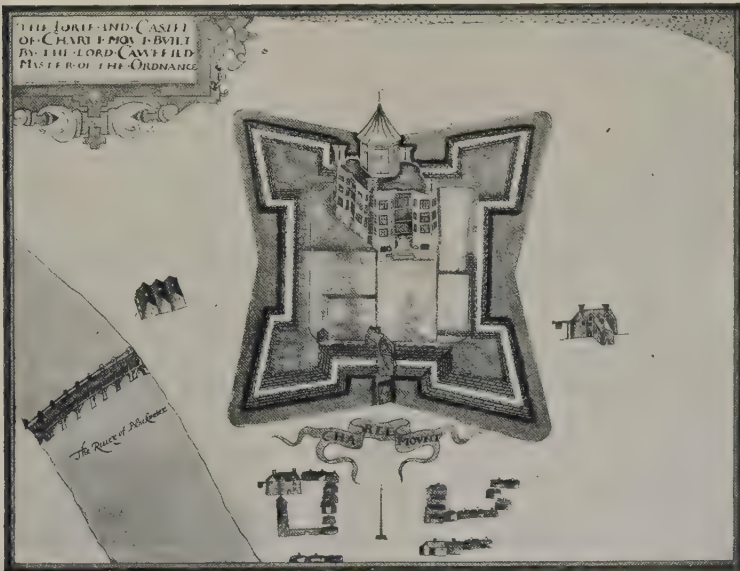
1642]

of Irish blood were repealed; and English law was extended to all the Irish people.

King James was so well pleased with his first experiment that he resolved to continue the plantations; and with this object he appointed a commission to inquire into the validity of land titles. As tempting rewards were offered, the country now swarmed with persons called "discoverers," who made it their business to find flaws, or pretended flaws, in titles, and who themselves got either the estates they unsettled or part of the money the owners had to pay for immunity. In every case where a title was unsettled the king made money. This was perhaps worse than the plantation of Ulster, which was open and undisguised; whereas here the iniquitous proceedings were carried on under the guise of law and equity. Through these means a great part of Leinster was confiscated and given to English undertakers. The knavish proceedings of the discoverers unsettled property everywhere, and the whole country was in a miserable state of uncertainty, for no man was sure of his property for a day.

Confis-
cations in
Leinster.

Charles I. from the day of his accession found himself in



CHARLEMONT FORT (MS. Add. 24,200).

pecuniary straits; and he reaped a rich harvest from the crooked ingenuity of the discoverers. Besides the money made in the several title cases as they occurred, the general body of the Catholics and Protestants agreed to pay large sums through the Deputy (Lord Falkland) for certain concessions or "Graces," of which there were altogether fifty-one. The most important of these were:—Relaxation of the penal laws against Catholics; security of title; and repression of the violence and exactions of the soldiery—of which the two last affected Protestants and Catholics alike. But, though the money was paid, the king, through the instrumentality of Falkland, dishonestly evaded the graces. There was now, however, a short period of quietness; and no one seems to have entertained, as yet, any suspicion of the king's duplicity.

Strafford.

After another short but severe persecution of the Catholics, King Charles sent over, in 1633, as lord-deputy, the strongest and most despotic ruler Ireland had yet experienced—Lord Wentworth, subsequently Earl of Strafford (p. 16.) He had two chief aims—to make the king's rule absolute, and to obtain money for him; and in the pursuit of these he trampled on all—Catholics and Protestants alike. But he persecuted no man merely for religion. He obtained vast sums under promise of certain concessions from the Crown, known as "the Graces"; but he tricked and bullied the Parliament—whose consent to the Graces was necessary—and they were never passed, the king being fully cognisant of the discreditable proceedings. Next, turning to land-titles, the old and sure source of money supply, he broke titles everywhere by undisguised illegality and violence; forcing verdicts for the king by threatening, fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing sheriffs, judges, lawyers, and juries; and out of each individual case he made money for the king. He confiscated nearly all Connaught, and a large part of Munster; and nothing prevented a wholesale clearance of these vast districts but the want of settlers in sufficient numbers. He crushed and ruined, without adequate cause, many of the highest people in the land, among them several old and deserving officers. Friends who began to see dark clouds ahead warned him; but he disregarded them and persisted in his outrageous course. Yet outside these proceedings his government of the country was straight and vigorous. Except where it interfered

1642]

with his designs, justice was well administered; and, on the whole, trade prospered. But in one direction he dealt the country a heavy blow by taking measures to repress the flourishing Irish wool trade (p. 177), lest it might injure that of England. On the other hand, he created the great linen trade of Ulster, which could not injure England. When, at last, he was impeached (p. 21), some of his bitterest accusers and some of the most damaging of the charges that sent him to execution in 1641 came from Ireland. The rebellion of that year will be more conveniently treated of in the next chapter (p. 466).

Interfer-
ence with
Irish
Trade.

Notwithstanding the almost perpetual social disturbance, Ireland shows a creditable literary record for the half-century or so ending in 1642. The foundation of Trinity College in Dublin, in 1592, by Queen Elizabeth, is an important landmark in the later history of learning in Ireland. Several of the great schools spoken of in an earlier chapter (Vol. III., p. 398) still subsisted in various parts of the country. Campion, an English writer on Ireland, notices those for law and medicine as he saw them in 1571. In 1615 certain commissioners sent by King James, of whom Ussher (subsequently archbishop) was one, notice a most flourishing school in Galway kept by a learned Roman Catholic priest, Dr. John Lynch, "who had great numbers of schollers, not only out of that province but also out of the Pale and other parts resorting to him." But as Dr. Lynch refused to conform, they ordered this fine school to be closed.

Two distinct literatures grew up in Ireland side by side—English among the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, and Irish (*i.e.* in the Irish language) among the native race and the descendants of the old settlers. The first Irishman who wrote any important work in English was Richard Stanyhurst, son of the recorder of Dublin. He wrote much in, and translated much from, Latin; but he is best remembered by his detailed description of Ireland (written in English, 1584: published in Holinshed's *Chronicles*), which is still of value. This work was, however, preceded by Hanmer's "*Chronicle of Ireland*," and by Campion's "*Historie of Ireland*," both published in 1571 by these two Englishmen, then resident in Ireland.

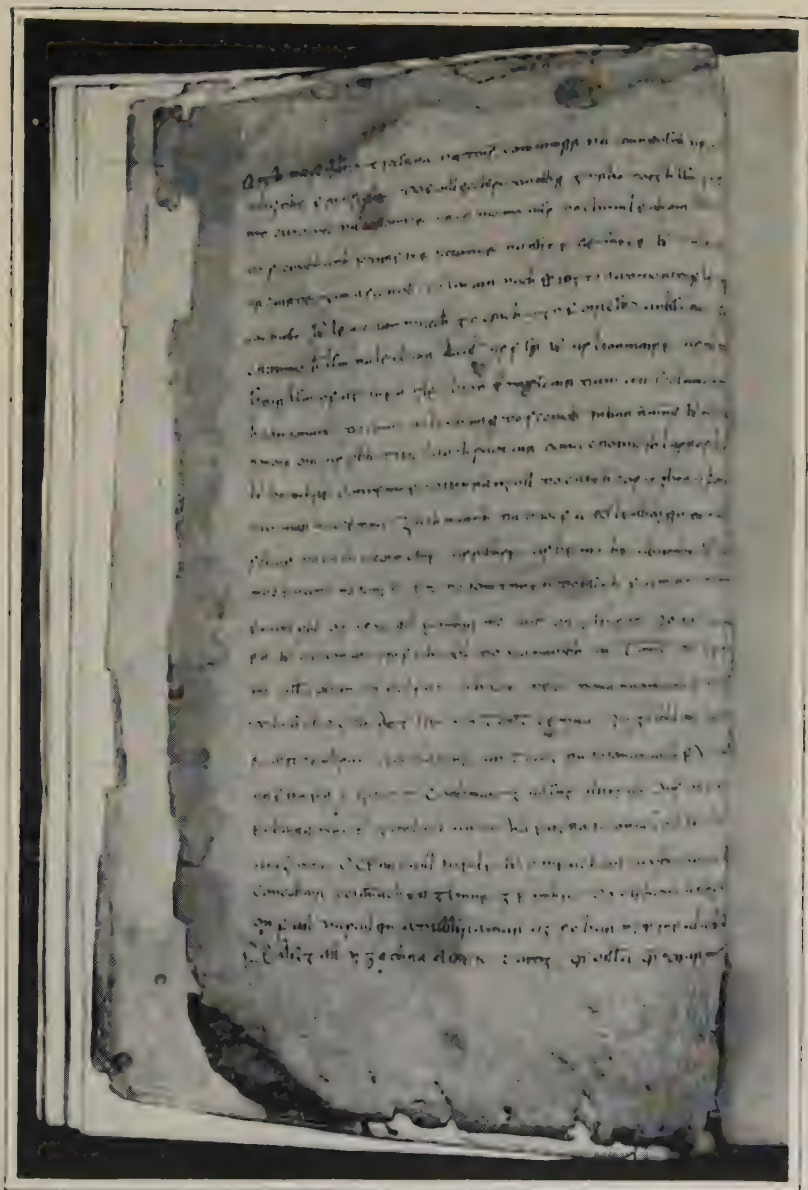
Anglo-
Irish
Writers.

James Ussher (1580–1656), Archbishop of Armagh, the

most learned man of the Irish Protestant Church, was born in Dublin, a descendant of one of the settlers of the time of King John: his mother was Stanyhurst's sister. His works—ecclesiastical, historical, and antiquarian—written in Latin and English, are all distinguished for great depth and solidity (p. 402). Sir James Ware (1594-1666), a native of Dublin, wrote "The Antiquities of Ireland," "The Annals of Ireland," and "The Lives of the Irish Bishops from the Earliest Times," all in Latin: but they were afterwards translated, with numerous valuable additions, by his grand-nephew, Walter Harris. These works are to this day studied and quoted as among the chief authorities on Irish history and antiquities. Two Englishmen, who resided in Ireland during this period, wrote two treatises: Edmund Spenser, "A View of the State of Ireland," and Sir John Davies (James the First's Irish Attorney-General), "A Discoverie of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued till the Beginning of the Reign of James I." Both are written from a purely English standpoint; but though in many respects showing a very hostile spirit towards the Irish, and not infrequently incorrect, they are solid and sensible, and are valuable aids to students of Irish history. Spenser's poetical works cannot be dissociated from Ireland. He wrote a considerable part of the "Faerie Queene" while residing in Kilcolman Castle in Cork (Vol. III., p. 580); and certain portions of this, as well as of others of his poems, abound in Irish allusion, simile, mythology, and topography.

The
Native
Literature

During the whole of this period, as well, indeed, as from the beginning, there was a continued succession of writers in the native tongue, both in poetry and prose, whose productions, though still preserved in manuscripts, mostly remain untranslated and unedited. A large proportion of the Irish historical poems of this time are contained in a collection commonly known as the "Contention of the Bards": the contention being a friendly disputation carried on in verse between the chief learned men of Ulster and Munster regarding the respective merits of the ancient kings and heroes of these two provinces. Dr. William Bedell, Protestant bishop of Kilmore, assisted by native scholars, had the Bible translated into Irish immediately before the Rebellion of 1641. Dr. Geoffrey Keating, a Roman Catholic priest of Tipperary



PAGE FROM THE ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS.
(By permission of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.)

(1570-1644), wrote, while living in concealment in the Glen of Aherlow during one of the outbursts of the early penal code, a *History of Ireland*—a work which, though uncritical and containing much mere legend, is of great value and interest, on account of its numerous quotations from lost authorities, and its quaint descriptions of ancient Irish life and manners. Translations of this have been published, but not the original text.



Photo: R. Welch, Belfast.
HIBERNO-ROMANESQUE DOORWAY OF
KILMORE CATHEDRAL.

But the native literary work for which this period is specially distinguished is "*The Annals of Ireland*" by the Four Masters, the most valuable of all the collections of Irish annals. These "*Four Masters*" were three of the O'Clerys of Donegal (one of them a lay Franciscan brother; the other two laymen), and a lay historian named O'Mulconry. Having first made a vast collection of ancient Irish his-

torical manuscripts, they completed their work in four years (1632-36) in the Franciscan monastery of Donegal, the community supplying food and lodging, and a native chief, Fergall O'Gara, defraying all other necessary expenses. In the original preface, Michael O'Clery, their chief, expressed his fear that if the work were not then done the materials might never be brought together again: a fear that turned out prophetic, for nearly all the manuscripts were scattered and lost in the troubles of 1641 and subsequent years.

AUTHORITIES. 1603-1642.

GENERAL HISTORY.

Burton, *History of Scotland*; Spedding, *Letters and Life of Bacon*; Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642* and *What the Gunpowder Plot Was*; L. von Ranke, *History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century*; Hallam, *History of England*; Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*; Martin, *History of France*; Gindeley, *History of the Thirty Years' War*; and the series of State Papers (in MS.), Domestic and Foreign, preserved at the Record Office. [Some of these have been calendered.]

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Church History.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642*; Ranke (*see above*); Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*; Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*; *Lives of the chief ecclesiastics of the time*; a great mass of pamphlet literature; the works of Andrewes and Laud, in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*; W. H. Hutton, *William Laud*; W. E. Collins, *Lectures on Archbishop Laud*. The materials are so copious that no complete list can be given.

Nonconformity.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*; R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*; Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*; State Papers, James I.; Waddington, *Congregational History 1567-1700*; Laud's *Diary*; Heylin, *Life of Archbishop Laud*.

The Transformation of the Army.—The histories above cited of Gardiner and Hallam; Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*; Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*; Prothero, *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*

The Navy.—Monson's *Tracts* in Churchill, *Voyages*; MSS. in the Pepysian Library; Charnock, *Marine Architecture*; Reports, etc., of the Commission of 1618; *Lives of Raleigh* by Cayley, Napier, Edwards, and M. S. Hume; Selden, *Mare Clausum*; the *Naval Histories of Burchett and Lediard* (1735).

Exploration.—Purchas, *Pilgrims*; Asher, *Henry Hudson*; Baffin, *Voyages*, ed. C. Markham (Hakluyt Society); Captain John Smith's *Works* (Arber); Elphinstone, *Rise of British Power in the East*, c. ii.; Raleigh, *Guiana*; Harris, *Voyages*; Bruce, *Annals of the East India Company* (1810); Bancroft, *America*, Vol. I.; Articles in *Dictionary of National Biography* on Hudson, Baffin, Fox, and other explorers of the time; publications of Naval Records Society; Oppenheim, *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in relation to the Navy*; Laird Clowes, *History of the Royal Navy*.

Architecture and Art.—Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, Vol. III.; Loftie, *Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren*; articles in the *Portfolio*, 1888, by R. Blomfield, on the work of Inigo Jones; Woltmann and Woermann, *History of Painting*; Waagen, *Handbook*; Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painters* (ed. Wornum); Wornum, *Epochs of Painting*; Probert, *History of Miniature Art*. *Coins*.—Ruding, *Annals*; Kenyon, *Gold Coins of England*; Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*; Akerman, *Manual*.

Science.—Whewell's two works on the *History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* deal with the subject generally; *see also* Prof. Fowler's introduction to the *Novum Organum*, and the biographies in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and *Dictionary of National Biography*. But for the most part the history must be got from the original treatises.

Literature.—The chapters on Elizabethan Literature in the works of Craik, Taine, Arnold, Minto, and Chambers; Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature*; A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*; Gosse, *Jacobean Poets*; the notices in Macmillan's *English Poets* (ed. by T. Humphry Ward), and *English Prose Writers* (ed. by Craik). Chalmers' *Poets* begins to be full at this period (though there are some

striking omissions), and until very recently has supplied the most accessible editions of many of the poets mentioned. The same may be said of Dodsley's *Old Plays*. Literary biography, though still very defective, almost dates from this period. The jottings of Jonson's conversations with Drummond, and some notes in his *Discoveries*; divers references of Clarendon; Howell's *Letters* (a source to be drawn on with caution); Walton's *Lives*, and some other books supply us with a body of information to which we have earlier no parallel.

Agriculture.—Gervase Markham was a voluminous writer on agricultural subjects. His *English Husbandman* (1614), *Countrey Contentments* (1615), *Cheape and Good Husbandry* (1616), *Farewell to Husbandry* (1625), *Way to get Wealth* (1638), *Compleat Farriar* (1639), contain the farming science of the day. Walter Blith, in *The English Improver*, was the first critic on drainage, and Samuel Hartlib, who embodied in a literary form the experience of Sir R. Weston (*Discourse of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders*), first attempted to explain the advantages of the field cultivation of turnips. Both these writers flourished in the Civil War period. The first book on grazing is Leonard Mascall's *Government of Cattel* (1605). *Modern Books*.—Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*; Sir F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*; Drake, *Shakespeare and His Times*; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*; R. H. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest*; R. E. Prothero, *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*.

Manufactures.—The story of English manufactures can best be read in the Statute Book and Royal proclamations. Rymer's *Foedera* gives a full account of the Commission of 1622. Some information may be gathered from county histories, e.g. from Hunter's *Hallamshire*, as to Sheffield and the hardware trade; Westcote's *Devonshire*, referred to in the text, contains some curious particulars. Strafford's *Letters* are the principal authority on the Irish linen manufacture. Lewis Roberts' pamphlets say something of the Manchester cotton trade, and Smith's *Memoirs of Wool* is a source of useful information. A curious anonymous pamphlet, *The Woodmongers' Remonstrance*, gives some account of the coal trade in London. Much that is of value may be found in Cunningham's *Industry and Commerce* (2nd Ed.).

Commerce and Currency.—Statutes of the Realm; State Papers; Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, Vol. V.; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*; Hall, *Customs and Revenue of England*; Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation*; Macleod, *Theory and Practice of Banking*; Hewins, *English Trade and Finance chiefly in the Seventeenth Century*. Of the mass of contemporary authors the following may be mentioned: N. Barbon, *Discourse of Trade* (1690); Sir J. Child, *A New Discourse of Trade* (1690); J. Haythorpe, *England's Exchequer* (1625); C. de Malynes, *Centre of Circle of Commerce* (1623); E. Musselden, *Free Trade, or the Means to Make Trade Flourish* (1622); Sir T. Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (1664), and *Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies* (1621); L. Roberts, *The Treasure of Trafficke* (1641); H. Robinson, *England's Safety in Trades' Increase* (1641).

Pauperism.—Burn, *History of the Poor Laws*; Eden, *State of the Poor*; Nicholls, *History of the English Poor Law*; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of the English Poor Law*. Other authorities for this period are referred to in the notes.

Social Life.—Various family papers, e.g. *Memoirs of the Verneys*, the Egertons (Camden Society), the Stanleys, ed. Heywood (Chetham Society); Mrs. Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*; Satires, e.g. Prynne, *Histriomastix*, *Healthes*, *Sicknesse*, *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks*; tracts in the Roxburghe Library (ed. Hazlitt), and in the Harleian Miscellany. *The Court*.—L. Aikin, *Courts of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.* (1819-33); Birch, *Memoirs of the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.*; Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth and James I.*; *Secret History of the Court of James I.* (ed. Sir Walter Scott); M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses*; Bradley, *Arabella Stuart*; Halliwell-Phillips, *Letters of the Kings*. *The Stage*.—J. P. Collier,

English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage; A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*; Halliwell-Phillips, *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare*; Harrison, *Description of England*, Appendix I. by Rendle; Hazlitt, *English Drama and the Stage 1543-1664* (Roxburghe Library); Gädertz, *Zur Kenntniss der Allenglischen Bühne*, 1888; Simpson, *School of Shakspeare*; Fleay, *Chronicle-History of the London Stage and Life of Shakespeare*. *Masques*: Ben Jonson, *Works* (ed. P. Cunningham); *Accounts of the Revels temp. Eliz. and James I.*, ed. P. Cunningham (Shakespeare Society, 1842); P. Cunningham, *Life of Inigo Jones*; Bacon, *Essay on Masques and Triumphs*.

Scotland.—*General* (a) *Contemporary*. Malcolm Laing, *History of Scotland 1603-1707*; the Church histories of Row 1558-1639; Calderwood, to 1625; Baillie, *Letters from 1636*; Spottiswood's *History* and Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles*, 1624-45, give anti-Covenanting views. Sir Thomas Hope's *Diary*, 1635-45; *Registers of the Privy Council* (Vol. XI. comes down to 1619, and gives a most complete account of the king's visit, 1617); Hist. MSS. Commission, Lonsdale Papers, Lowther, *Journal unto Scotland*, 1629. (b) *Modern*.—Professor Masson gives a powerful sketch of the politico-ecclesiastical situation in his *Life of Milton*, Vol. I. See also the general histories of Taylor and Burton. On special topics: Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland, and Scotland before 1700*; Mark Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*. Edgar's *Old Church Life* is (from its own standpoint) the best picture of the life and manners of the time. *Topography*: Chambers' *Caledonia*, Timothy Pont, Cunningham. For Edinburgh, the histories by Maitland and Arnot; Chambers, *Traditions*; Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*. For Aberdeen, the histories by Gordon and Kennedy, the *Records* published by the Spalding Club (1900), and various county histories.

Ireland.—*Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan; the *Carew Papers*; Hamilton, *Calendar*; *Annals of Camden and Ware*; Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell*; *Papers and Life of Strafford*; histories of Ireland by Maëgeoghan (1831), Cox (1689), Leland (1773), McGee, and Joyce (1893).



Photo: R. Welch, Belfast.

CLOUGHUGHTER CASTLE, CAVAN.

(Where Bishop Bedell was confined.)

CHAPTER XIV.

CIVIL WARFARE AND REPUBLICAN RULE. 1642-1660.

A. L.
SMITH.
The
Course of
the Civil
War.

A CIVIL WAR means the clash of two hostile principles, whether of politics, or religion, or social life. What makes it inevitable is that the two principles have each a real and deep root, and that there is no way to decide between them except by letting them fight out their rivalry. Still more impossible is compromise if the representatives of one set of ideas can put no trust in the others. Such was the condition of things which was rapidly manifesting itself in England before the Long Parliament had sat a year. For eleven years Charles had been governing without a Parliament—keeping within the letter of the laws, resting always on decisions of the judges, but, in fact, overthrowing successively all the old landmarks alike in Church and in State, and preparing a day of bitter reckoning for his two ablest ministers, Strafford and Laud. With Laud's attempt to introduce the new Prayer Book into Scotland in 1637 the troubles began (p. 242). All Scotland rushed to sign the National Covenant, and a well-ordered army made the Scotch claim to religious freedom an irresistible one. Charles had to accept their terms. To get himself out of this humiliation, he submitted to call a Parliament in England. The Short Parliament, however, sided with the Scots, and the king dissolved it before it had sat a month (May, 1640). But the Scots now invaded England, crossed the Tyne, drove the royal forces before them, and forced Charles to terms which comprised his paying them £850 a day. To get the money he must needs call another Parliament, and this (the Long Parliament) saw in the Scots its best friends. After a struggle of six months, it brought Strafford to the block. It passed a Triennial Bill, secured itself against dissolution, abolished ship-money and Star Chamber; and then, proceeding to "the root of all grievances," it attacked Episcopacy. Around this "Root and Branch Bill," a new division of parties into Puritans and Royalists

The Long
Parlia-
ment.

began, as it were, to crystallise itself. But in the meantime occurred the mysterious plot called "the Incident" in Scotland, and the appalling outbreak of Irish and Catholic fury in the Ulster massacres: both were, in the popular belief justly, laid at Charles's door. The Puritans drew up the Grand Remonstrance—an appeal to the nation, and an indictment of Charles's whole career. After scenes unprecedented in the House, it was passed by a majority of eleven on November 20. Even now Charles failed to read the handwriting on the wall. He made his worst blunder in his vain attempt to seize the Five Members in the

The
Grand
Remon-
strance.



THE LAST OF THE STAR CHAMBER.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

Commons, January 4, 1642. This at once rallied the City to the side of Parliament. When Charles left Whitehall on January 10, both sides saw that the final issue must be war. For the next six months the struggle was for control of the militia; though it was still a struggle waged on the constitutional ground and by lengthy constitutional declarations. The crisis had come when, on April 23, Sir John Hotham refused to admit the king into Hull. As late as June 15 a protest was signed by thirty-five peers that his Majesty "abhorred all designs of making war upon his Parliament," but the very next day his Majesty began to put in force the commissions of array in the Midlands and the

The War
Begins.

North; and early in July the Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex its commander-in-chief; the king proclaimed him and his officers as traitors, and determined to set up his great Standard at Nottingham. The war was now formally begun. The ultimate question involved can hardly be better expressed than in the protestation of Lords and Commons on May 26th—"this erroneous maxim being infused into princes that their kingdoms are their own, and that they may do with them what they will, as if their kingdoms were for them, and not they for their kingdoms."

It was on August 22, 1642, that Charles formally raised the royal standard at Nottingham, but not till the 12th of September had he a real army with him; and then he had to retreat westwards to avoid Essex's overwhelming forces now at Coventry, and also to pick up contingents at Chester and to detach Rupert to secure Worcester. Rupert met and routed a body of the enemy's horse at Powyck Bridge on September 23 (p. 324). This was the first open fight of the war, and an omen of its course. The dashing Prince had won a cavalry skirmish, but could not save the city.

Edgehill.

In October, however, Charles was strong enough to make a bold thrust straight for London. He had to turn about at Edgehill, October 23, to face his pursuer Essex, and was so far successful in the battle that he was able to secure Oxford and resume his march. On November 12 Rupert stormed Brentford, but Essex' men were reinforced by the Londoners; an army of 24,000, drawn up on Turnham Green, confronted the baffled Royalists. London could not be taken by a *coup de main*; from its Royalist party nothing serious was to be expected; and its traders were willing to share with Parliament the burden and the responsibility of war-taxation. These were important results to come from two months only of actual warfare. But there was still another result. At Edgehill and at Brentford the Puritan spirit had shown there was in it the stuff of which soldiers are made. Cromwell's prescient words to Hampden were already being justified; the men of religion began to show that they might "go on as far as" men of honour; it was already raised above a conflict between "gentlemen" on the one side, and on the other "old decayed serving-men, tapsters, and such fellows" (p. 323).

The winter of 1642 saw Charles growing stronger, despite the superiority of Fairfax over Newcastle, the Royalist general in Yorkshire. Gloucestershire was won over to his side, and Hopton held Devon and Cornwall. There was also a cry for peace in London, Bedfordshire, Essex, and other places. To set against this was the establishment of the Eastern Association,

Charles's
Progress.



Photo: Walter & Cockerell.

PRINCE RUPERT, BY SIR PETER LELY.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

the soul of which was Cromwell. The Midland Association was formed a little earlier.

The king at Oxford was surrounded by a ring of Parliamentary districts; this, again, was girdled by an outer ring of Royalist districts. "The campaign of 1643 consisted of the efforts of the Royalists to break through this intermediate zone." Waller, indeed, took Hereford, and Essex took Reading, but these generals had no concerted plan; while Charles's strategic idea of moving up his two wings from Yorkshire and Cornwall seemed to be succeeding. Fairfax's defeat at Adwalton Moor, on

The
Campaign
of 1643.

The
Rise of
Cromwell.

June 30, and expulsion from the West Riding, enabled the Queen to reach Oxford. The rout of Waller at Roundway Down was followed by the surrender of Bristol. Then came Newcastle's capture of Gainsborough, a threatening outlook for the Eastern shires. It has often been said that Charles might now (August, 1643) have ended the war by marching on London. But this view forgets that he could not march on London unsupported, leaving Maurice's army detained before Exeter, Newcastle's army before Hull. Already Cromwell was forcing his way up through Lincolnshire, and showing, in the skirmishes at Grantham and Gainsborough, that Puritanism could raise cavalry as dashing as



Photo: C. W. Clarke, Devizes.

BATTLEFIELD OF ROUNDWAY DOWN, WILTS.

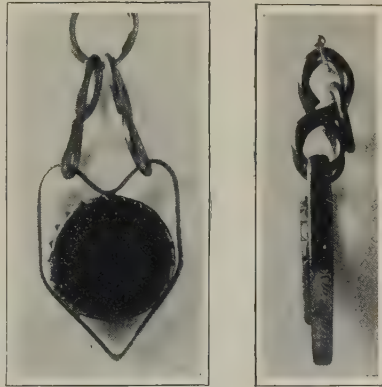
Rupert's and more reliable. The rise of Cromwell counterbalanced the great loss by Hampden's death at Chalgrove Field; and it has been well said that potentially Gainsborough was the turning-point of the war.

In London, in the meantime, detected Royalist plots had utterly discredited the peace party; while Charles's Irish intrigues called forth the Parliamentary invitation to the Scots, for which the City submitted to the new burden of an excise, and joined in the plans for appointing Manchester general of the Eastern Association, attacking Wales and relieving Gloucester. Gloucester was relieved; but Essex, narrowly escaping a disaster like

(1660)

Waller's, was pursued by Charles to Newbury, where an indecisive battle took place, which left him free to reach London safely. The autumn of 1643 measures the high-water mark of Royalist success. Newcastle failed to take Hull; a South-Eastern Association was formed; troops from Ireland had been brought into England, and native Irish were to follow. The mere rumour of this was to prove fatal to the Royal cause. It had become clear that Charles's utmost strength was not enough to overpower London, and the field of Newbury demonstrated that the king's infantry were essentially inferior. Royalism failed just where Puritanism succeeded, in getting hold of the middle class. The one thing now required for victory was that Puritanism should rise to its true self, should show its essential unity and its organising power, and should shake off the trammels of that narrow local spirit, that petty county patriotism, which had hitherto so hampered it. Royalist Yorkshire, Wales, Cornwall would not let their levies cross their own borders as long as Hull, Gloucester, Plymouth were in the enemies' hands. Was there always to be the same half-heartedness on the Parliamentary side also? The London train-bands had deserted after Newbury; again, in July, 1644, Waller writes:—"They are come to their old song of 'home, home' . . . the men of Essex and Herts attacked their own captain . . . such men are fit only for the gallows here and Hell hereafter. . . . Above 2,000 Londoners ran away from their colours." In a similar spirit Manchester refused to cross the Thames; he would not "leave those counties which have paid us." The king was getting over this difficulty; his infantry was coming to be composed of men who enlisted for the pay and plunder—men of a low grade and with little depth in their loyalty, but at least professional soldiers. Could the Parliament get over the difficulty in a better way by creating

The
Royalist
Climax,
1643.



THE HAMPDEN JEWEL.
(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Puritan
Weakness.

a professional soldiery out of men of principle? Could they so utilise local Puritan feeling as to retain its fighting powers while eliminating its local selfishness, and have an army Puritan in character, but withal, a paid and standing army—a real national force, “an army merely your own,” as Waller put it?

The campaign of 1644 opened disastrously for the king in the North; the Scots effected a junction with Fairfax at

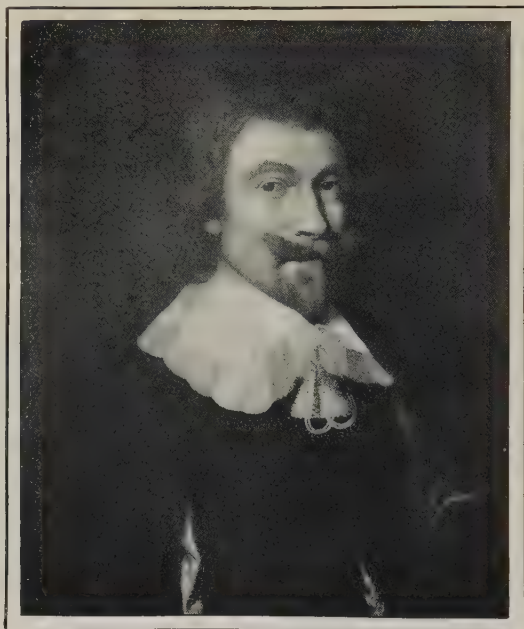


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

The
Campaign
of 1644.

Tadcaster, Newcastle being too weak to oppose them. In the South Waller repulsed the forces of Generals Forth and Hopton at Cheriton, and put an end to the long-talked-of invasion of Kent and Sussex. Waller and Essex ought to have been able, by uniting, to crush Charles at Oxford, while Manchester, having taken Lincoln, was joining the Fairfaxes and the Scots in besieging York; and, indeed, Charles had to quit Oxford hurriedly for Worcester. But Essex persisted in separating from Waller and marching off to secure the West. Thus

1660]

Charles was able to hurry back towards Oxford and inflict a severe check on Waller at Cropredy Bridge, June 29. By this time Rupert was marching through the North-West, gathering recruits and relieving the Countess of Derby at Lathom House, and hastening to York, which he reached on July 7. On Marston Moor, six miles from York, he was met next day by Manchester's, Fairfax's, and Leven's armies. For the first time his cavalry found their match in Cromwell's troopers, who not only drove Rupert before them ("God made them as stubble

Marston
Moor.



BATTLEFIELD OF MARSTON MOOR, YORKSHIRE.

to our swords"), but wheeled and returned to save their own right wing, which had been driven into rout by Goring. But for this decisive manœuvre and the stubborn courage of three regiments of Scots infantry in the centre, the battle had gone the other way. Messengers had, indeed, ridden off to report a Royalist victory, and bonfires were lighted in Oxford at the first false news. It was a fatal blow to the Royal cause: 4,000 were slain; Rupert could only gather 5,000 fugitives to escape North; Newcastle and many others fled over seas; and, above all, it brought forward the new party—the "godly" party—and their general, who might well claim (as he did) that it was the Lord's blessing shown especially to them, and who

now stepped forward to take the foremost place in politics as on the field.

Parlia-
mentarian
Dissen-
sions.

But for a time the Parliamentary cause seemed, despite the recent victory, to be on the point of ruin from disunion and dissension. The Scottish force went off to besiege Newcastle; Fairfax stayed to clear Yorkshire; Manchester's army moved slowly to its own Eastern Counties, paralysed by the struggle for supremacy between a forward policy and one of temporising, between Independents and Presbyterians, between Cromwell and Crawford. The two southern armies, which were to have overwhelmed the king by mere weight of numbers, could not be brought to act together. There was some jealousy between the two generals, and more disparity in temperament and views; there was the usual mutinous refusal of the trainbands of London, Kent, Hants, to go farther afield than they chose to think necessary. Essex had started off on his cherished project of reducing Oxford by first subduing Cornwall and Devon, while Waller was to back him up and threaten the king's rear. But Waller's force collapsed; they were tired of being "the longest-winded army in England." Essex attributed to this desertion, as he deemed it, a result that was in fact only the natural issue to his precious project; he was surrounded at Lostwithiel, and his infantry forced to an abject surrender. One of Manchester's officers declares that this news was received with open joy by many at Huntingdon, where the regiments of Cromwell and his friends Ireton, Fleetwood, Russell, Montague, Pickering, Rainsborough, were already beginning to feel that if there were to be any peace "such as might not stand with the ends honest men should aim at, this army should prevent such a mischief." Hearing of all this dissension, the Royalists were exultant, and talked of wintering in Norfolk this year. As they marched from the west Waller fell back before them; Essex and Manchester could not, and would not, help him. When there was an opportunity of annihilating Charles's army at the second battle of Newbury, October 27, it failed by reason of Manchester's irresolution. When Walter and Cromwell urged him to follow up the pursuit next day, he spoke of returning to the eastern counties, "and much for peace." No wonder that Cromwell, as soon as he returned to his place in the

House, made a vehement attack on Manchester's conduct; but finding arrayed against him the Lords, the Scots, the peace-party, and the whole Presbyterian interest, he turned aside to a proposal very characteristic of his practical mind. He pointed out that members of the two Houses had both "interest of Parliament and power in the army"; that men were weary of the war, but said these "grandees" would not let it end; and that there was urgent need of a Self-Denying Ordinance.

When there was a prospect that both this would be carried, and a New Model for the army, he willingly dropped his attack on Manchester, just as he was willing to give up his military command. It was the resistance of the Peers to the first Self-Denying Ordinance, and a series of unforeseen junctures, that cast the second Self-Denying Ordinance into such a form that while Essex and Manchester lost their posts, Cromwell was raised to the place of general of the cavalry in the New Model army, beside Skippon as general of the infantry, and beneath Sir Thomas Fairfax as commander-in-chief. At last the weary days were over of mutinous train-bands, niggardly county payments, mutually jealous generals, battles without results, and campaigns without a plan. There was now under one command an army of 21,000 men; not all volunteers, indeed, for impressment was freely resorted to, nor at all overpaid at 8d. a day; but all under tried officers, and imbued with the true Independent spirit of religious freedom and democratic instinct, and all resolved to bring the war to an end (p. 332). The idea was that the Scots should meet Charles and Rupert about Nottingham, while the New Model, under Fairfax, should take Oxford, and then cut off Goring in the West. But the Scots, alarmed by Montrose's successes, refused to leave the North, the king stormed Leicester, and the civilians at Westminster were for once scared into giving Fairfax a free hand, and acceding to the petition of the army officers to reappoint Cromwell to lead the cavalry. Once set free, Fairfax marched straight N.N.E. from Oxford, and in six days was driving the Royal army before him from Daventry. On June 14 was the crushing defeat of Naseby. The king lost 1,000 slain, 5,000 prisoners, nearly all his officers, all his artillery and arms. Decisive as the day was, it had long hung in the

The Self-Denying Ordinances and the New Model.

Naseby.

balance. Ireton's cavalry on the left wing had been broken by Rupert, and himself taken prisoner; Skippon, in the centre, was severely wounded, and his infantry driven back upon the reserves; Cromwell alone on the right wing overpowered Langdale, then wheeled upon the Royalist foot in the centre. Rupert returned from his usual headlong pursuit to find that his hour was gone by. The contrast was characteristic not only of the two men, but of the two armies, and, indeed, of the whole war.

The rest of the year was occupied in beating down resistance in the West, and South-west, which still held out for the king, and defeating his remaining forces in detail. Goring was routed by Fairfax at Langport, and Langdale by Poyntz at Rowton Heath. Leicester, Bridgewater, Pontefract, Scarborough, Sherborne, successively surrendered. Bristol was stormed on September 10, Basing House ("Loyalty House") a month later. Before November, Rupert, incensed by Charles's mistrust, left his service. All was over, though the last battle in the field was not till March, 1646 (Astley's defeat at Stow), nor had Fairfax completed his work in Devon and Cornwall till Exeter fell in April. Oxford surrendered on June 24, and with the submission of the garrison of Harlech—March 13, 1647—no place was left over which Charles's banner waved.

The King
Defeated:
His In-
trigues.

Defeated thus in the field, Charles now turned to a war of intrigue. He would set Presbyterians and Independents by the ears, and make them destroy each other. On May 5, 1646, he put himself in the hands of the Scots army at Newark. But the cabinet of his private letters, captured at Naseby, had taught all clear-sighted men the folly of negotiating with him. Thus, although the Lords, by fifteen votes to fourteen, were at this time in favour of attempting an accommodation, and the City in its longing for peace went with them, yet in the Commons the proposal to receive overtures from the king was rejected by one hundred and forty-five votes to one hundred and three, and the disclosure of Charles's expectations from an Irish army and from French aid only strengthened the hold of the Independents, and identified their party with the cause of patriotic resistance to interference, whether by Scotch, or Irish, or French. Nor could Charles himself be brought by any pressure to consent to the Scots' essential condition, the establishment of Presby-



ACCOUTREMENTS OF CHARLES I. AND PRINCE RUPERT AT WISTOW HALL.
(By permission of Mark Firth, Esq., and the Hon. F. F. Fremantle.)

terianism in England: "How can we expect God's blessing," he said, "if we relinquish His Church?" Just as little would he listen to the one essential condition of the Independents—the grant of liberty of conscience. Thus, alike by the points on which he would not give way, and by his inconsistent intrigues with all parties at once (Irish Catholics and English-Irish, Scotch Covenanters and Scotch Royalists, English Presbyterians and Independents), he effected only this, that he brought all his enemies to forego their differences and close their ranks. The



CORNET JOYCE.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Scots agreed to give up the king; the Parliament agreed to pay them £400,000 for their expenses. In January the first instalment of £100,000 was paid; by February 11 the Scots army had recrossed the Tweed; already Charles had been removed to Holmby House as the Parliament's prisoner. Once more fortune seemed to give him an opportunity. The Presbyterian leaders, now that the Scotch crisis was over, had regained their supremacy in Parliament. They at

The Pres-
byterians
and the
Army.

once set about breaking up the army. But they set about it in so stupid a way that the army united as one man against them. On the questions of their arrears of pay, the terms of service in Ireland, the legal indemnity for acts done in the war, Fairfax and Skippon, Presbyterians as they were, must needs be at one with Cromwell and Ireton; and Cromwell himself, whom the soldiers had accused of deserting them for "the silken Independents of Westminster," and who had felt and said that to resist Parliament was to invite anarchy, was forced to adopt and father the bold principles

of Sexby and Joyce, the agitators. On June 4 Charles was removed by Cornet Joyce from Holmby House to Newmarket, the army headquarters. This was the soldiers' answer to the Presbyterian intrigue to crush the army by a Scots force marching into England with Charles in their midst. "They must sink us or we must sink them," said one of the chief agents in this intrigue. The rest of the year 1647 was to be one long demonstration that the cause destined to sink would be the one which had the misfortune to ally itself with Charles. After



HOLDENBY HOUSE, NORTHANTS.

Photo: C. Law, Northampton.

assiduous attempts to befriend and advise the captive king, the French ambassador sums him up as one "who cannot keep a secret, and has shown nothing but inconsistency hitherto." Similar to these were the blunt words of Ireton to the king: "Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the Parliament and us; we mean to be it between your Majesty and the Parliament." His best chance with the army was at the end of July, when they offered to reinstate him if he would submit to religious toleration and constitutional monarchy; and when an armed conflict with Parliament and the City appeared imminent. By August 20 they had entered London

**Charles's
Intrigues
with the
Army.**

The
Second
Civil War.

in force, and frightened away the Eleven Members and many other Presbyterians, and so secured an Independent majority in the House. They were, however, still in need of him, for, to the constitutionalism of Cromwell and Ireton, to continue the rule of the sword was abhorrent; if the Parliament had failed to yield a permanent settlement, recourse must be had to the king. But, hard as Cromwell worked for this, he could not carry his party with him. Both in the House and among the troops he was accused of time-serving hypocrisy and personal ambition. When, however, on November 11, Charles made his escape from Hampton Court to Carisbrooke, and when an intercepted letter gave full proof of his duplicity, Cromwell at last abandoned his cause, and on January 3 it was moved and carried that no more addresses should be made to the king. In the next three months it became clear that there was to be a new civil war. A Scotch army was to invade England, and risings were simultaneously to take place in the North-west and West, in the Midlands, in Essex, and in Kent. Already, on April 9 and 10, they were riots by Royalist mobs in London. Then came news of the actual rising in South Wales. In a great three days' meeting the army resolved "to go out and fight against those potent enemies . . . and then to call Charles Stuart—that man of blood—to account for the blood he had shed." Cromwell was sent to Wales with 8,000 men. In one evening's fighting at Maidstone Fairfax dispersed the Kentishmen. The Earl of Norwich, their commander, fled to join the rising in Essex, and was besieged by Fairfax in Colchester. Holland's abortive dash through Surrey and Herts had ended in his capture. Cromwell, by the taking of Pembroke, July 4, completed his work in Wales and set himself free to march North. The Scots had come too late, not reaching Kendal till August 2. A fortnight later Cromwell fell upon them as they were crossing the Ribble at Preston, drove in Langdale's isolated corps of 5,000 Englishmen, and then chased them South through Wigan, Winwick, Warrington, taking prisoners all the way, and so to Uttoxeter, where the miserable remnant—starved, drenched, and worn out—surrendered to Lambert. Colchester soon fell, and the Prince of Wales's little fleet, which had been threatening the South coast, retired to Holland. By the end of September

Cromwell had hunted back over the border the remainder of the invading force under Monro, and had recovered Berwick and Carlisle. The Second Civil War was over. It had lasted just five months, and had shown the widespread Royalist feeling in the country, the incongruous elements which made it up, and the irresistible strength of the New Model Army, and of the group of steadfast men at its head, who had stamped out a rising that at one time seemed almost universal, held down the discontent of London and the fleet, and crushed the great



Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.
CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

army of the Scots in so short a time. Once more a desperate effort was made by the Presbyterians to establish their own system, and frustrate religious toleration. Once more they entered on a negotiation with the king—the “Treaty of Newport.” It was futile from the outset, since, as Charles said in confidence to a friend, all his concessions were made “merely in order to my escape . . . to make them less careful of their guards,” and he hoped by next spring “to have as fair a game to play over again as in the last summer.” No wonder the Independents grew impatient of watching such a farce. The army peremptorily demanded of Charles to give up the militia

**The
Treaty of
Newport.**

The
King's
Execution.

and appointment of officials. On his refusal, they presented the Remonstrance of the Army, demanding "justice on all offenders without respect of persons," removed the king from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle, and subjected the Commons to "Pride's Purge." A final effort was made under Cromwell's influence during the week before Christmas to save the king's life, but he would not even receive the envoy. Cromwell knew that there would be many even among Puritans unwilling to have the king executed—many even among the Independent section of the Puritans. He knew this, and no man could have worked harder to the same end. But he also saw now that there was no other way, and it was by his unflinching resolute-



BRADSHAW'S BULLET-PROOF HAT.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

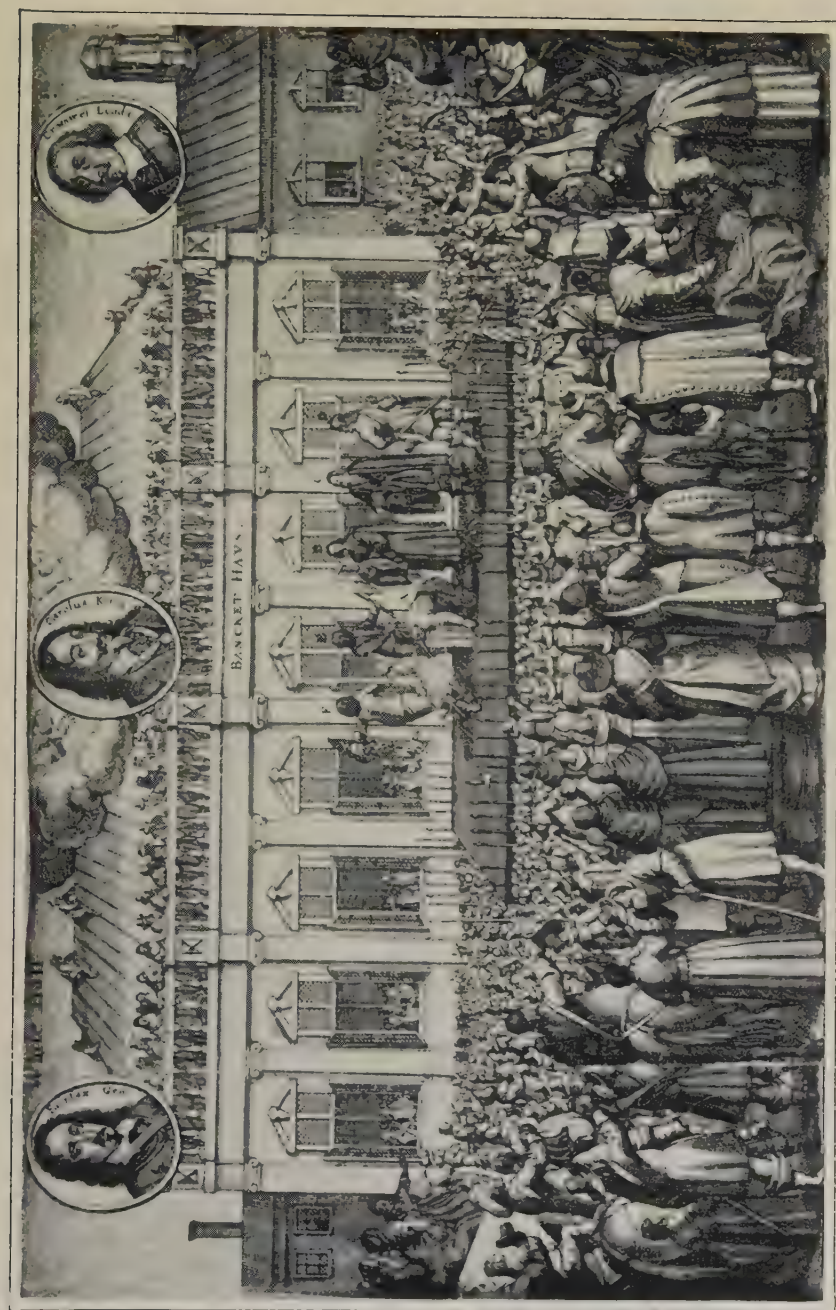
drilled, shamed, and, perhaps, intimidated into decisive action and a decent show of unanimity, as events marched on to their inevitable goal in the sentence passed January 27th upon Charles as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public

enemy," and his beheading at Whitehall on the 30th.

It was the only logical ending to the war. But that which is most logical is often that which has the least chance of practical success; and the stern deed which was to have been the end of the war and of troubles proved only to be the letting out of fresh waters of strife. Charles's death restored the cause which he had ruined in his life, and the final triumph of the "Great Rebellion" was not till the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689.

A. L.
SMITH.
The Con-
stitutional
Struggle.

THE great Civil War was at least as remarkable for the vigour and the variety of its constitutional activity as it was for its display of individual character, for the interest of its military history, or even for its development of sharply contrasted religious ideals. So multitudinous, and, it may be added, so voluminous, are the constitutional documents of these eventful



EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.
(From a nearly contemporary Dutch engraving by Sebastian Furck.)

years—so changeful were the points of view which suggested the various constitutional programmes—that at first sight it all seems a bewildering maze. Yet a clue may be found by following out the different relations proposed between the executive and the legislature; and it is in this that the constitutional importance of the period actually lies, since the other points—such as the new forms of taxation, the decline of the House of Lords, and the beginnings of a ministerial cabinet system—belong rather to the next period, that of the Commonwealth.

There is, then, in this aspect, a certain regularity of growth in all this confusion; certain definite principles emerge more and more clearly; and one after another the political ideas appear, some of which the Restoration itself could not venture to tamper with, some which reached their triumph at the Revolution of 1689 or in the next century, some which have only been worked out in our own day, and some which are still immature, and must be left to the present century to settle.

Its Phases:
The
Reforms
of the
Long Par-
liament.

Between November, 1640, and January, 1649, the constitutional position of the Crown and its relation to Parliament passed through startling phases. What began as an absolutist monarchy ended by becoming a republic under a written constitution. The first of these phases comprises the action of the Long Parliament up to September, 1641. In this period even its severest critics have had little to say but in praise of its measures. So far the Parliament had been unanimous, and the work done in those months was, with the exception of one clause in one Act, left untouched at the Restoration. For the work consisted in the abolition of the exceptional powers conferred on the Tudors to tide over an exceptional crisis: the Star Chamber's and High Commission's power to sentence without a jury, and the power by extra customs duties to raise a revenue without Parliament. With them fell ship-money, knighthood fines, and the attempt to extend the forests.

Parliament
to be
Supreme.

In the next phase, with the burning question of religion, there came a demand for transference of the ultimate sovereign power from the hands of the king to the hands of Parliament. In the Grand Remonstrance the king was asked to employ

"such ministers as Parliament could confide in," and to allow a synod of divines to draw up a scheme of church reform for Parliament's approval. And in the Nineteen Propositions (June 1, 1642), the king was to accept "that course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the militia," and to create Peers only with the consent of both Houses.

The third phase covers the war period—August, 1642, to July, 1646. The war had, at one and the same time, created a longing for peace and accentuated the religious quarrel. Thus, the Oxford Propositions required the immediate abolition of Episcopacy, but did not claim to appoint the judges or ministers. In the negotiations at Uxbridge (January and February, 1645), this last requirement was again inserted; Parliament was to make peace and war, and the king himself to take the Covenant. These points were repeated in the Newcastle terms (July, 1646, when the king was now a prisoner), and he was also to give up control of the militia for twenty years.

The War
Period.

Then comes a somewhat reactionary phase, representing the desperate attempts of the Presbyterians to join the king in an alliance with themselves and Scots against the dreaded Independents. They would restore him to the position of August, 1641, if he would merely grant Presbyterianism for three years. But before this alliance could be completed, there came the rupture with the army. And this led to another attempted solution of the constitutional deadlock. The solution aimed at by the Independents was contained in the "Heads of the Proposals." The idea in this scheme was, while maintaining the supremacy of Parliament, to reform it by making it more representative of the people, and to raise religious liberty beyond that Parliamentary control which meant Presbyterian bigotry. The royal powers over the militia, the appointment of ministers, and the making of peace and war were also to be curtailed for the next five to ten years. But a scheme which anticipated the Toleration Act of 1689, the Reform movement of 1745-1832, the Triennial Act and the Acts against placemen, and much of the Cabinet system, was decidedly premature. It was at once too tolerant, too democratic, and too balanced for an age of religious hatreds, of

The Pres-
byterian
Reaction.

aristocratic and bourgeois prejudices, and of unfitness for delicate political mechanism. If Charles himself dallied with the scheme, it was only on the homely maxim of grasping at any stick that would serve to beat the Presbyterian dog.

Every party had now tried its hand at a settlement, and all had failed. The abortive negotiations of the winter of 1647, and Charles's shifting intrigues ending in the secret engagement with the Scots, in which they purchased the



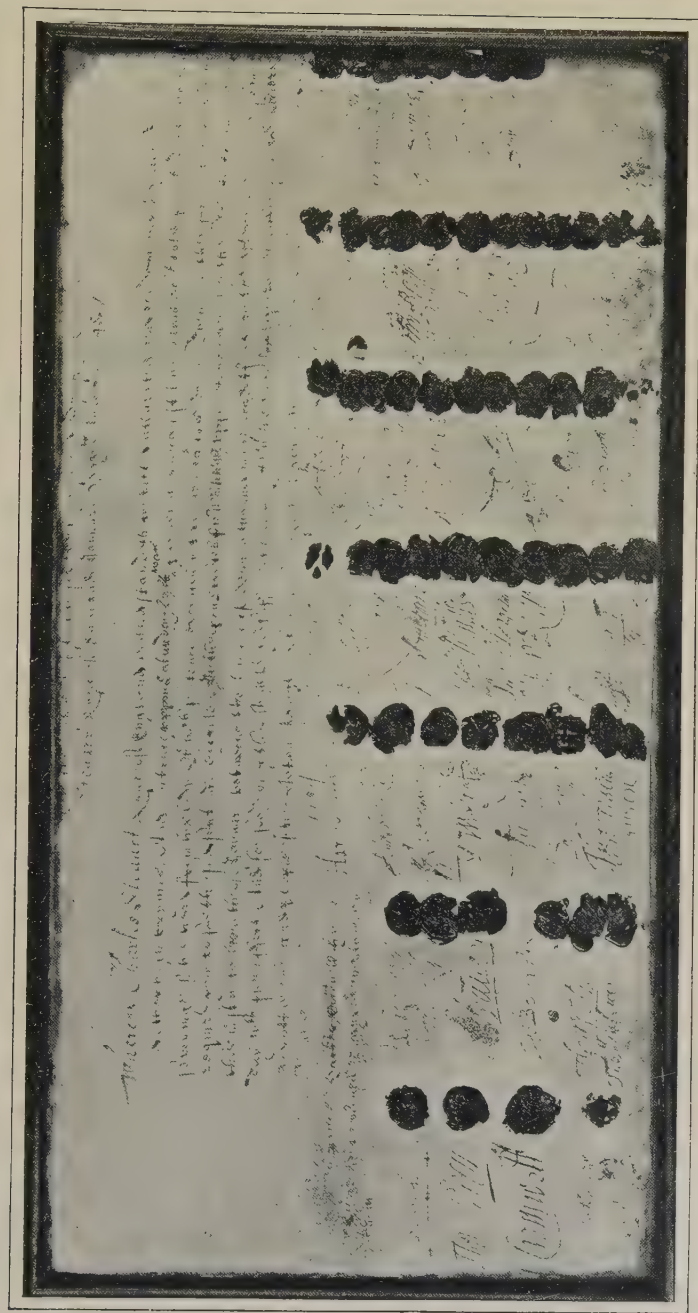
Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

GENERAL HENRY IRETON, BY ROBERT WALKER.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

The
Republic
Reached.

amplest religious tyranny by restoring to the king his veto, his ministers, and his militia—these tedious futilities could not delay the inevitable end. By the vote of No Addresses (January, 1648) we reach the final stage in the elimination of the monarchical principle from the constitution; since, as soon as the Second Civil War was over, the soldiery hardly waited for the so-called "Treaty of Newport" to break down, before they stirred up Ireton (October, 1648) to compose the manifesto of republicanism known as the "Remonstrance of the Army."



DEATH-WARRANT OF CHARLES I.
(By permission of the Librarian to the House of Lords.)

Democracy
and a
Written
Constitu-
tion.

This was based on the "Case of the Army," which the agitators had laid before Fairfax just a year earlier, and which had demanded, as "a law paramount," biennial Parliaments elected by manhood suffrage, with no king or Lords to check them, and had boldly taken the sovereignty of the people as its starting point. The final form in which these views were expressed was the "Agreement of the People" of January 15th, 1649, which proposed, besides the biennial House of Representatives, a redistribution of seats, a rating franchise, and a Council of State; and also reserved seven points as unalterable by the Representatives. The chief of these points was religious toleration, "not necessarily to extend to Popery or Prelacy." This constitution was to be regarded as "fundamental."

Here, then, is the first of the written constitutions with "fundamentals" reserved which are characteristic of modern states. Here, too, is the advent of democracy, the spirit which has done so much to transform the modern world, and will do so much more.

The "Agreement of the People" formed the basis of the later "Instrument of Government" (p. 337). Otherwise it had but little direct effect upon English institutions; and this for the pregnant reason suggested by Cromwell in his criticism of it at its first appearance: "Are the spirits and temper of this nation prepared to receive and go along with it? for it is not enough to propose things good in the end, but we are to consider also the probability of the ways and means to accomplish them." The English people were not prepared yet for avowed democracy, for the abolition of monarchy, for a written constitution, or for religious toleration. And not even an army with a Cromwell at its head could make them accept these. The constitutional history of the Commonwealth is one long demonstration of this impossibility.

A. L.
SMITH.
The
Lines of
Division.

WHAT was the dividing line between the two parties in the great Civil War? Was this line social, or geographical, or religious? That is to say, was it a war of classes, or of districts, or of sects? In seeking the answer to this question, we find we are laying hold of a clue to the innermost secrets of this time of great men and ideas still greater.

It is natural to look first to a class distinction, as the most likely to furnish a broad line of demarcation between Cavaliers and Roundheads. But this, of all the three explanations, is the most superficial, and would be the most misleading. The second explanation, that the party division was in the main a division of districts, is suggested by the analogy of the Wars

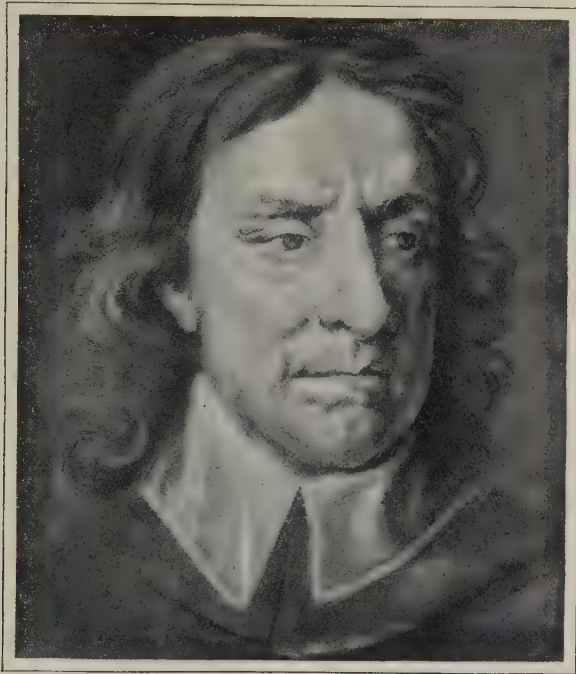


Photo: Goupil & Co., Bedford Street, W.C.
OLIVER CROMWELL.

(By permission, from the portrait at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.)

of the Roses, and much could be said for it. But neither of these explanations, taken by itself, is adequate. Each has some truth in it: each requires the other to supplement it and to modify it. But, even then, recourse must be had to a third principle. It is the religious division which from the first underlay the others, and which emerges into more and more prominence as the struggle goes on (p. 344). It is the religious issues involved which give to the struggle its abiding

interest, and which elevated and dignified the local rivalries, the class antagonisms, and the battle for constitutional liberties.

A Royalist
Party
Formed.

In the first months, it is true, of the Long Parliament, the constitutional questions were so strongly and so universally felt that it seemed as if there would be but one voice in the two Houses, as in the country. The king's absolutism must be rendered impossible for the future. But when Strafford had fallen, the Root and Branch Bill furnished a clear dividing line. Hyde, Falkland, Culpepper drew apart from St. John, Haselrig, Vane, and Cromwell. Against the advanced views of the latter, there stood forth a group which became defined as a Royalist party in the debates on the Grand Remonstrance. When this was carried by 159 votes to 148, the practical insight of Cromwell recognised how critical had been the debate; had it ended the other way, he and his friends (he said) would have sold all and sailed for America. Thus it was the Puritan spirit which gave to the Parliamentary side all its energy and its single-minded devotion. On the other hand, this religious aspect alienated many of those who, on purely constitutional grounds, had at first been on that side. Thus, the two Hothams, who held Hull against the king in April, 1642, afterwards joined him; with Falkland, who had pressed for Strafford's attainder; Culpepper, who had impeached the judges; Hyde, who had denounced the Star Chamber. Even Sir Edmund Verney, who had belonged to the Parliamentary opposition, now became the king's standard-bearer. He writes: "I have no love for bishops . . . but I have eaten the king's bread for thirty years, and will not desert him now." So it was with Sir Edward Dering, who had brought in the Root and Branch Bill; so with the nobles and gentlemen of Yorkshire who had begged the king to come to terms; so with many other peers and country squires, who could not resist the practical appeal of the raising of the king's standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642. At this date his armed force consisted only of 800 horsemen. But on September 6 the Parliament rejected in the most uncompromising manner the overtures for peace, and proclaimed that all "delinquents" should suffer confiscation. This attitude on the part of his enemies brought in ten thousand recruits, Clarendon assures us, to the royal camp within the next week, chiefly from

Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Staffordshire. Clarendon is also right, no doubt, in speaking of the deep impression made by the king's solemn protestation before his new army that he would be faithful to the Church of England, and "observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." So far from "the vulgar opinion" being true, that the king was undone by his concessions, the fact was (as Burnet had noted) that but for his concessions he would have had no party at all. It was Hyde who had made this possible. His theory of constitutional royalty was, at any rate, a ground which constitutionalists could plausibly take up. It recalled Charles from those fatal courses into which he had seemed to be plunging when he attempted to bring the City into collision with the Houses, and to arrest his opponents by violating the privileges of Parliament. It was at bottom an utter delusion; the issues went too deep for mere political compromises, and no settlement could be permanent which assumed that Charles could be trusted to recognise the logic of facts.

But it enabled a motley host to rally round him, and gave them a common formula. Thus the Royalist party included many distinct sections, actuated by distinct ideals, and yet was a real party with a certain unity of feeling, at least in the earlier stages of the war. The core, so to speak, consisted of the country squires, with their deep-rooted traditions of loyalty, their habits of local leadership, their contempt for the interference of yeomen and artisans in politics. These feelings were bound up with one of the deepest forces in English history—that is, the individuality and independence of the shire. Cornwall or Yorkshire would scorn to be dictated to by London; even Essex and Cambridgeshire proved restive often enough. The Eastern Association, the Midland Association, of groups of neighbouring counties, were indeed a concession to this shire feeling; while on the other hand, in most of England, this local spirit was distinctly a force to be reckoned on the king's side. Along with the gentry and many of the noble families may be reckoned a small but influential group, in which the leading names (beside Falkland's) are those of Spencer, Southampton, Carnarvon, the constitutionalists of the party, moderate and able men, who were keenly alive to the fanatical side of Puritanism, who foresaw, as its

Its
Sections:
The
Squires.

The Con-
stitution-
alists.

The
Cavaliers.

logical outcome, that every tinker and tailor would be setting up for a prophet, but who failed to do justice to its heroic side, or to realise that their own halting policy could never cut the knot. Most opposed to these men, and ready to call them faint-hearts or traitors, was the noisy clique of professed soldiers, who did much to discredit Charles's cause. It was to them the name Cavaliers was first applied with a sense of



Photo. Walker & Cockerell.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, K.G.
BY SIR PETER LELY.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

The
Catholics.

reprobation; from them the Royal armies got the reputation of "deboshed" men. The most famous of them was Prince Rupert; the most useful, had he been properly used, would have been the Earl of Lindsey, a veteran of the Dutch wars; the most notorious was Goring, a generous man and a fighting man, but a drunkard and a profligate. Not much less was the king discredited by his Catholic friends, chief among whom were the Herberts and the Catholic gentry of Lancashire and the North. Their presence seemed to give colour to the

prevalent rumours of Papist influence and Papist plots — rumours grossly exaggerated, but not without some excuse. But for the Herberts' munificent offering of £122,000 in the summer of 1642 Charles could hardly have taken the field at all; yet, for all this loyalty, his cause in the end lost more than it gained by such allies.

It is clear that till after Marston Moor the peasantry in most of the counties leaned decidedly to the Royalist side. There were but few counties in which the Puritan movement had as

The
Peasantry



LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND.

(By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.)

yet reached to them; and, till they were taught better by the wasteful and plundering habits of the Royalist forces, they would regard as tyranny the uncompromising orders issued by the Parliament, and its heavy organised taxation. Thus, in Yorkshire, they resented the suppression of the Council of the North, which had proved itself, like its prototype the Star Chamber, "a bridle on the stout nobles."

It has been well observed that the best and noblest section

of the Royalist party was the section which was most averse to the war; while in their enemies' camp all the elements that were most lofty and sincere were ranged on the side of war. Falkland fought and fell with the longing for peace on his lips; but Ireton and Harrison felt the work of the Lord was to bring, not peace, but a sword, till that work was done; and Waller, writing to his old comrade Hopton, now arrayed against him, protests that "the great God, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows with what perfect hate I detest a war without an enemy; but," he adds, "it is the work of the Lord, which is enough to silence all passion in me."

The Par-
liamentary
Party.

There was, it is true, a feeling from the first among many of the men who were fighting against the king that they did not want to push things to extremes; the king must not be beaten too much, but only enough to render him ductile for negotiations. Certain constitutional abuses had required stern reform, a certain zeal in some of the more advanced clergy had required a sharp lesson: these points secured, all would be well. Indeed, to these "half-measures men" a Republican or an Anabaptist was a far more fearful monster than a too subservient judge or a too Arminian prelate. But men got tired of winning victories in summer, only to furnish fireside talk in winter; it was in the very nature of things that the war should fall under the control of a more whole-hearted party; and such a party there already was, with the lines ready laid on which to base its division from the other. Cromwell's despatch after Marston Moor shows us this "godly party," with its religious principle of independency and its military principle of no compromise, drawn up in sharp opposition both to the narrow Presbyterianism of Lord Manchester and his Scotch allies, and to their temporising strategy. But hitherto Independents and Presbyterians had been restrained by the needs of the situation; and in the first two years of the war they managed to unite on the question of defeating the king and accepting the Covenant, and so to present the show of a united Parliamentary party.

The Terri-
torial
Division.

As this party covered many irreconcilable sections (p. 343), so its nominal area contained districts of very diverse degrees of zeal. Its great stronghold was London, which, it was said, could at any moment put 30,000 men in the field; already, in May, 1642, at a review of the London train-bands, the actual muster

was 8,000. With London went Essex and Herts. These, with the shires of Northampton and Lincoln, "went solid" for the cause of liberty in the autumn of 1642. The shires where only a town here or there returned a Royalist were Surrey, Huntingdon, Leicester, Bedford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Gloucester. The shires which were Parliamentary, though their boroughs were mostly Royalist, were Sussex, Hants, Berks, Bucks, Oxford, Derby, York, Worcester. On the other hand, the towns which, though surrounded by Royalist districts, were stanch for the Parliament, were many and important: in the North, Berwick, Newcastle, Carlisle, Appleby, Cockermouth, Scarborough, Knaresborough, Hull, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool; in the Midlands, Nottingham; in the West and South, Truro, St. Germans, Plymouth, Okehampton, Bath, Chippenham, Dorchester, Wareham, Lymington; even in Wales, Pembroke and Denbigh. There was the same spirit in Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and in others, doubtless, of the towns which were then without representatives. It would be possible to draw the party boundary as a line from Scarborough to Southampton. No doubt it is evident there was much cross division. Thus, in Royalist Somerset, the yeomen and the large class half-peasant, half-artisan, held firm for the other side; in Royalist Yorkshire, the gentry at first had agreed to stand neutral; in Kent, the grand jury's petition in favour of the Church was carried only by one vote. In London itself, to take the reverse side of the facts, there was, by October, 1642, a powerful Royalist party; and there was some belief the fleet would declare for the king, who claimed he had in his favour "the nobility, the gentry, and divers honest men" everywhere. But still, when all has been said, varying and superficial as such a party frontier may be, it is not without significance. For to the east of such a line lay two-thirds of the population and three-fourths of the wealth of the whole realm; there lay the most orderly, the best organised, the most thoughtful part of the population—the part which had held its lead through the Middle Ages, which had raised up the Yorkist dynasty to be champions of strong government, which was now Puritan because Puritanism seemed to be the one hope of freedom both political and religious.

So impressive was the preponderance of strength against Charles that even his own supporters at first thought the struggle Its Effect.

would be a short one. The Parliamentary districts formed a far more compact block of territory than the Royalist. This fact, coupled with the immensely greater Parliamentary resources in finance, assured to that side the ultimate victory. Cornwall and Devon could not permanently combine with Wales or with the North. But this very dissension also gave the war its disconnected and lingering character. The conquerors had not only to win their ground, but to organise and to assimilate it. From the very first they had to clear away, one by one the strongholds which cut their lines of communication—such as Newark, whose Royalist garrison barred the way from the Eastern counties to Yorkshire, or Tickhill and Welbeck, which sent out raiding



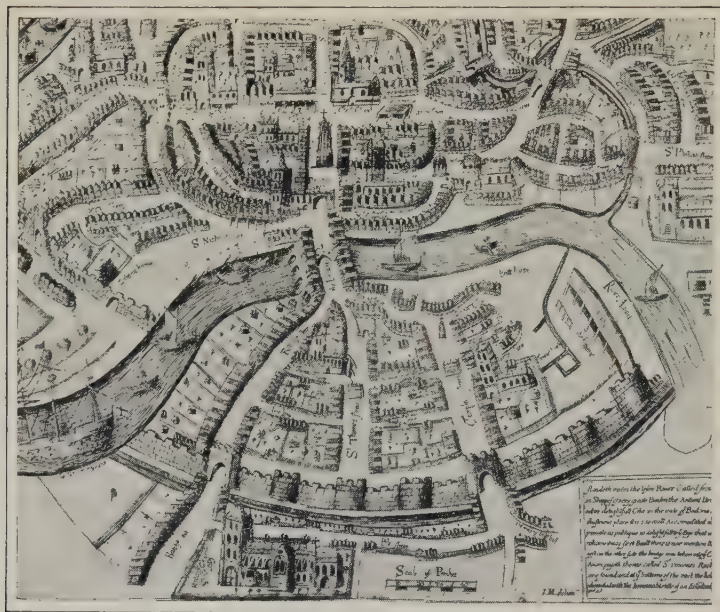
PARLIAMENTARIAN HELMETS.

(Maidstone Museum.)

parties whenever unwatched. Thus the war was also a war of sieges and blockades. It repeated itself in miniature round many a castle or country-house (p. 436). Often the flame broke out again where it seemed to have been quenched, as in Kent and Wales in 1648. It is strange to find Essex itself the scene of Royalist plots in 1654. But it must be remembered that in no single district, in no single class, did the predominance of one faction mean the total disappearance of the other. Even Oxford, the Royal centre—military, political, ecclesiastical—was probably divided pretty equally. The townsmen were at first openly and then secretly Parliamentarians, as they showed in their rejoicings at the surrender to Fairfax in 1646; and yet many citizens suspected of disloyalty had been cleared out in 1642. What is still more surprising is to find that in the colleges, too, both sides were represented, and not so very unequally. Merton College,



the home of the Court, supplied three of the seven Presbyterians appointed to preach before the University in 1647, and three of the Visitors. Of the whole list (33) of members of the College, sixteen submitted at once to the Visitors' new terms, and several came in later. Clarendon declares that of the Heads and Fellows of the Colleges, "scarce one submitted." It is sufficient answer to observe that the most recent computation gives—of Fellows and Scholars, 374 expulsions, 404 submissions, and some 200 doubtful cases.



BRISTOL IN 1670.

**Local
Divisions.**

Local records show a similar state of division in Bristol, in Hereford, in many other places. The very armies on either side were made up of most mixed elements. Fairfax said his best soldiers were men taken out of Royalist garrisons. The "New Model" itself was largely composed of pressed men—"the scum of the inhabitants, king's soldiers, prisoners, tinkers, pedlars, vagrants," says one of the colonels. No wonder that, in such a confused state of things, many felt their duty pull them both ways at once; like a certain John Langley, who complained that

there were "two armies . . . each challenging the Protestant religion for their standard . . . I desire to live at home in peace . . . I find, in my conscience, I have enough of this." But neither side could afford to allow neutrals; men must be either for God or for His enemies. Sir W. Waller had to proclaim in Sussex that those who took this "detestable way" should be counted enemies of the State. By a more politic method—that of cash payments—Fairfax and Cromwell won over the "clubmen" of the southern counties to feel that the right lay with those who fairly bought what they needed instead of "requisitioning" in the name of the king.

Four years of fighting brought out clearly one fact. The king's party contained elements too incongruous to work long together. They were disunited geographically and socially. Their enemies were not only better organised, better financed, and possessed a more positive ideal, but they were, moreover—until, at least, they saw victory assured to them—more united in aim. Then, and then only, did the fundamental split in their camp show itself effectively. Old



SIR JACOB ASTLEY.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Sir Jacob Astley summed up the situation exactly when, after the final fight at Stow, he said to his captors, as he sat resting upon a drum, "Gentlemen, you may now sit down and play, for you have done all your work, if you fall not out among yourselves."

It seems desirable at this point to take a brief retrospect of the progress of the military art under James I., in order that the subject may be treated for that century as a whole. The reign of James was a period of very little moment in military matters

C. W. C.
OMAN.
The Art
of War.

English
Volunteers
Abroad.

on this side of the channel. That king and his minister Salisbury put an end to the long Spanish War, which had lingered on through the later years of Elizabeth, as soon as they found it possible. They committed themselves to no other struggle. The peaceful king managed to avoid being dragged into the vortex of the Thirty Years' War, even though the nation loudly clamoured for leave to take part with the Protestant Union, and though James himself wished to do what he could for his unfortunate daughter the Queen of Bohemia. But though England



"THE PIKEMAN STANDS
ORDERED."

(Nead's "Double-armed Man," 1625.)

never declared war on the Emperor or the Catholic League, thousands of English volunteers crossed the North Sea year by year to throw themselves into the fight, and to serve with the Dutch or the Reformed Princes of Germany. Sometimes they went forth in organised bands and with the full warrant of the king and Parliament, like the unfortunate expedition of 1622, which suffered such miseries in Holland, and the large force which was raised to serve under Mansfeldt in 1625. More often they went in smaller numbers and on their own responsibility. These wars gave

England many veteran soldiers, but no army, for of the English and Scottish volunteers who shed their blood under Maurice and Frederick Henry of Nassau, or Mansfeldt and Christian of Brunswick, or Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, comparatively few returned to their native soil, and those who did found no occupation for themselves at home. Nor can the many gallant deeds which they accomplished over seas pass for a portion of the military history of England, though so much might be written of the achievements of the Veres' regiments in Flanders and Germany, or of the Scottish Brigade in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, whose doings were the staple of Monro's "Expedition."

As regards England itself, apart from the process of transformation of the military system dealt with earlier in this volume



ARTILLERISTS AT WORK.

(MS. Add. 15,726.)



"THE PIKEMAN STANDS SLOAPT
AND SHOOTING."

(Neade's "Double-armed Man," 1625.)

(p. 57), nothing more is to be recorded than the fact that the train-bands were duly kept up, not without many grumblings as to their inefficiency, and especially as to the difficulty of inducing those who were bound to provide horsemen to keep efficient men in the ranks. The bow was finally gone, though it still possessed some belated advocates, and the militia were now all furnished with pike and musket. We need make no more than a short mention of William Neade's curious scheme for combining pike and bow in the soldier's hands, which he ventilated in his book of "The Double-armed Man." This was a visionary plan for the use of a composite weapon composed of a bow spliced to a pike, in a manner which, from Neade's diagrams, appears most uncomfortable and inconvenient. The bow had to be shortened and lose some of its projectile power for want of tension, while the pike must have completely lost its balance for the thrust because of the bow adhering to it. But Neade exhibited his device before the king, and got permission to teach it to such of the train-bands as might list. They all, very wisely, left it alone, moving Neade to grief and driving him into countless petitions to royalty. The scheme is only interesting as showing how soldiers were already seeking about for some means of combining weapons for close combat with projectiles, but the true solution of the musket and bayonet was yet sixty years off.

The troops raised for service in the early years of Charles I. for

(p. 57), nothing more is to be recorded than the fact that the train-bands were duly kept up, not without many grumblings as to their inefficiency, and especially as to the difficulty of inducing those who were bound to provide horsemen to keep efficient men in the ranks. The bow was finally gone, though it still possessed some belated advocates, and the militia were now all furnished with pike and musket. We need make no more than a short mention of William Neade's curious scheme for combining pike and bow in the

The Decay
of the Old
English
System.

A Pre-
cursor
of the
Bayonet.



"THE PIKEMAN STANDS
CROUCHED AND CHARGED FOR
HORSE."

(Neade's "Double-armed Man," 1625.)

The
Method
of Re-
cruiting.

the two unlucky and ill-managed expeditions to Rhé and Cadiz were levied, as had been the custom in the time of Elizabeth, by impressment from the shires (p. 57). They were hastily formed into regiments, and forwarded to the Continent without due time to gain cohesion among themselves, to learn subordination to their commanders, or to pick up their drill.



POSITIONS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE ILE DE RHÉ.

(Isnard, "Arcis Sammartinae Obsidio," 1625.)

Even had they been granted longer preparation, it is hardly likely that they would have come to respect the incompetent officers whom Buckingham set over them, or to gain any profit from them. Probably the men who went to Rhé (p. 14) were the most inefficient and helpless army that England ever sent out; no further explanation is required of the hideous disaster with which they met.

The regiments of the second quarter of the seventeenth

century ran somewhat lower in numbers than those of the reign of Elizabeth. Their nominal complement was now about 1,300 men, a figure decidedly lower than that of the preceding century, when the idea of the size of a regiment had been drawn from that of the old Spanish *tercio*, which often mustered 3,000 strong. In theory the pikes and musketeers should have been equal in numbers in each company, but as a matter of fact the men furnished with firearms were generally the more numerous of the two. The musketeers had now finally dropped all defensive armour, and wore only hat and jerkin, unlike their predecessors of Elizabeth's time, who had still protected themselves with morion and mailshirt. A treatise of 1619—Davies' "Trainings of a Soldier"—gives the reason:—

"Some, in a custom of too much curiositie in arming hargabusiers, besides a peece, flaske, tutch-box, rapier and dagger, loade them with a heavie shirt of male, and a steel burganet: so that by the time they have marched in the heate of sommer or deepe of the winter, ten or twelve English miles, they are more apt to rest than ready to fight, and their enterprise shall become frustrate by reason of the stay they make in refreshing themselves, or else they are in danger to be repulsed, for want of lusinesse, breath, and agilitie."

The pikemen, on the other hand, less burdened by their comparatively portable weapon, still wore the steel cap, back- and breast-plates, and tassets covering the thighs.

Elaborate drill-books exist for both pike and musket. The exercises for the former are comparatively simple, but those of the latter bear witness to the extremely inefficient condition

The Regimental Strength.



PIKEMAN OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

(Rotunda Museum, Woolwich.
By permission of the General Officer
commanding Woolwich District.)

Drill.

**The
Muske**

in which firearms still lay. The use of the musket was still much complicated by the employment of the "rest"—a pointed staff with a forked head, between three and four feet long. The musket-barrel was laid in the fork to secure steadiness of aim, for the weapon was still so heavy that, except in the hands of unusually powerful men, it was hard to aim, and swayed about helplessly. How the soldier should manage the rest while both hands were required for loading the musket was the chief puzzle of those who drew up drill-books. It had to be strung by a loop from the wrist, gripped with two fingers only, or grasped in the same hand that was holding the musket—all difficult operations. Cumbered already by his rest, the soldier was still more inconvenienced by his "match," the long, smouldering string with which he "touched off" his piece. It was held between the first and second finger of the left hand while he loaded, and in windy weather must have scorched the back of the unfortunate musketeer's knuckles in no small measure. Cartridges being not yet invented, the charges of powder were carried in "bandoleers"—small cases of wood or other material hung on a belt that crossed the body diagonally. The bullets were kept in a pouch, thence usually transferred to the mouth one by one, and rammed home with a wad of paper, hay, or rag, after the charge had been poured down the muzzle from the "bandoleer." We still find complaints that untrained troops in their hurry forgot the wad, and did not ram the bullet home, so that it would often fall out when the muzzle was depressed in taking aim. "'Tis to this," says a treatise of the seventeenth century, "that I attribute the little execution that we have often seen musketeers do in time of fight, though they fired at great battalions, and those also reasonable near."

**The Form-
ation.**

The orthodox array for a company in the time of Charles I. was with its pikemen in a clump eight or ten deep in the centre, with the colour in their midst—for every company carried a flag. The musketeers were drawn up on the two flanks of the pikes six or eight deep; each rank was to give fire, and then fall back behind the rear to reload; by the time that the sixth or eighth rank had fired, the first rank was again ready to discharge. This secured a continuity of fire, but at the cost of continual running back and forward, from



MUSKETRY DRILL.

("Directions for Musters," 1638.)

which disorder and shirking to the rear easily resulted. When cavalry or hostile infantry pushed home an attack against the composite line of pikes and musketeers, the latter might have to retire to the direct rear of the former to protect themselves by the hedge of spears. But when once in safety they were perfectly useless for offensive purposes. From their helplessness in close combat the musketeers were always considered the more dangerous and less trustworthy arm, depending always, when matters came "to push of pike," entirely on the pluck and steadiness of their comrades of the "long weapon."

Arms and
Armour.

The fully armed horsemen of the first half of the seventeenth century usually wore steel caps — occasionally, however, the old helmet with movable vizor. They were protected by breast- and back-plate and tassets, but had nearly all discarded armour for the legs and arms. Superior officers only were generally found in the complete *cap-à-pie* suit. The lance had entirely disappeared in favour of sword and pistol. Often too much importance was given to the latter weapon. Cavalry were taught by one school of instructors to give fire and then wheel off to reload, instead of pressing a charge home with the sword. This deplorable perversion of an arm whose real force and effectiveness lay in the violence of its impact was lamentably prevalent in the early seventeenth century. Anyone who has studied the large battle pictures of the Thirty Years' War, or the Dutch-Spanish wars of Maurice and Frederick Henry, will remember numerous representations of squadrons of cavalry delivering their fire and then wheeling off to the rear, instead of pressing the charge home. Gustavus Adolphus is well remembered for his successful reform of this foolish form of tactics, which made the horsemen no more than "pistoletiers." By the time of the English Civil War of 1642 his teaching had got abroad, and we find little complaint of the over-tendency of cavalry to rely on firearms. Cromwell and his contemporaries were quite aware of the all-importance of cohesion and impact, and relied on them alone.

Cavalry
Tactics.

Dragoons.

While the ordinary cavalry soldier had been taught once more to rely on his sword and horse alone, a special form of horsemen, furnished with firearms, had come to the front in the "dragoon." He was a descendant of the horsed harque-

busier of the previous century, and a prototype of the mounted infantry of to-day. He was armed with a musketoon, fireable without any rest, and much smaller than the foot-soldier's musket. It was his task to precede the army, and take positions for covering its front, dismounting and acting as infantry. The dragoon horse was, therefore, smaller and less valuable than that of the ordinary trooper, since it was only required for purposes of transport, not for engagement in time of battle. Nevertheless, there existed, then as now, the temptation for mounted infantry to try to take the part of cavalry on occasion, and to join in charges. We not unfrequently find a dragoon regiment acting so in our own Civil Wars. Ultim-



DRAGOONS FIRING OVER HORSES.

(N. Burt's "*Militarie Instructions*," 1644.)

ately, as is well known, they assimilated themselves more and more to heavy cavalry, and finally dropped the special purpose for which they had been invented. But in the days of Cromwell and Fairfax we still find the dragoons employed, as a rule, on foot, covering the front of the army with skirmishers, or pushing on ahead to seize points of vantage before the infantry could come up.

At the outbreak of the Great Rebellion the king and the Parliament were in very much the same condition of unpreparedness in things military. On both sides there were officers who had much warlike experience in the old wars of Germany; there must also have been many individuals in the ranks on both sides who had seen the same service. But while individual veterans could be found, there was no general organisation on

The Civil Wars.

either side, except that of the militia. In the Eastern counties the Parliament laid hands on that machinery; in the Western, the king. Charles had also some slight help from the fact that many of his friends had learnt a few rudiments of soldiering in the unhappy army in the Northern shires that had been called out against the Scots in 1640, and had remained for some time under arms about York.

The Lack
of Pre-
paration.

But on neither side was the best of the service done by the militia. The trainbands disliked stirring outside their county boundary, and the volunteer regiments and squadrons raised by prominent individuals, under the sanction of king or Parliament, in the district where they each had local influence, were the backbone of the war. At the commencement of the struggle both Charles and his opponents could only put into the field levies very hastily prepared. Of the king's army at Edgehill, no single regiment had been nine weeks under arms. The nucleus of it was the retainers of the North-Midland gentry, who had flocked into Nottingham in August, when the king raised his standard. But the larger part had joined later, and the men were only enregimented at Shrewsbury early in October. Arms for the infantry had been very hard to procure. After collecting all sorts of firearms of different calibre, and confiscating the muskets of the distrusted train-bands of Nottinghamshire, there were still too few to provide for all the levies. Pikes were easy to make, and the horseman's sword was procurable enough, but firearms and defensive armour were both lacking. There was, of course, no attempt possible at uniform or at regular arming either in infantry or cavalry. The serving-man or tenant who rode after his landlord, or master, might be well armed in steel cap and back- and breast-plates, or furnished with a mere buff-leather jerkin, or serve "naked" in hat and doublet. The sole unity securable was that of putting all the men who followed the same chief into that chief's own troop or squadron. Hence came a completely parti-coloured set of regiments, whose only way of recognising each other was the red scarf which formed the Royalist badge. The Parliamentarians seem to have been somewhat better provided at the outset of the war, both in the matter of arms and in that of uniform. The chief arsenals and manufacturers of England

were in their hands, so that we hear of little delay in arming their levies. There seems also to have been time enough to put most of the regiments into uniform, but no common clothing for the whole army was adopted; the coats of the men were red, blue, green, or yellow, as the fancy of their colonel or the old local custom of the district dictated. Their only common sign was the orange scarf, which Lord



NATHANIEL FIENNES. *Photo: Goupil & Co.*

(By permission of the Right Hon. Lord Saye and Sele.)

Essex had chosen, probably in memory of his old Dutch service. The introduction of a common colour for the coats of all regiments only began with the "New Model" in 1645. Red had been a favourite wear among the infantry of the Eastern Association for two years before, but it was not the only hue employed among them. Real uniformity came in with the "New Model," as Messrs. Firth and Fortescue have shown. A newspaper of May 7, 1645, speaks of Fairfax's

troops as "redcoats all, the whole army only distinguished by the several facings of their coats." There was no change made after this date, and (as Mr. Firth observes) in the literature of the Commonwealth and Protectorate "redcoat" and "soldier" are used as synonymous terms.

**Unsuitable
Recruits.**

There was much weak stuff in both armies. Among the king's men were many who had been drawn to the field rather at their master's desire than their own. In the Parliament's forces were mixed enthusiastic volunteers and city loafers attracted by the high pay promised—the "old decayed tapsters and serving-men" against whom Cromwell thundered in his conversation with Hampden. The feeble element among the king's men was the infantry; his cavalry was full of fiery young squires and their personal retainers, and always erred from rashness, not from want of zeal. On the other hand, the king's enemies had found it hard to fill up the ranks of their hastily raised cavalry regiments with good material. Men who could sit a horse with skill were not too common among the city-bred volunteers who formed such a large portion of the Parliamentary army, and the early colonels seemed to have cared more to see that their recruits had a firm seat in the saddle than a zealous heart in the cause. The faults of the mercenary were to be found among them—a keen eye for plunder and pay, and a disinclination to fight out things to the end in the way that the "man of religion," whom Cromwell extolled, was prepared to do. It was this intermixture of the baser element that caused the disgraceful failure of the Parliamentary horsemen at Powyck Bridge (p. 282), and especially at Edgehill, where they rode off the field in wild flight when the first clash of battle went against them, although their comrades in the foot regiments stayed behind, fought the matter out, and turned a lost battle into a drawn one.

**The Local
Contests.**

One of the main features to be noticed in the civil war is that, although the main armies on both sides were soon shaken down into some form of organisation, there was fighting going on all over the country between undisciplined bands raised on the spur of the moment by local magnates, and never regularly formed into companies or squadrons, much less into regiments. It was not easy to draw any save very loyal and enthusiastic partisans far from their own counties, but nearly

every landowner in the Midlands, North, and West seems to have tried to fortify his own manor, or to seize his neighbour's at the head of such men as he could raise among his tenants. All this fighting was full of incident and interest; as much courage was shown in petty skirmishes and sieges as on broader fields of battle, but so many men were absorbed in the local bickerings, that the main armies remained relatively small and ineffective. Every small castle or fortified manor was held by its 50 or 100 men, and as these little strongholds were reckoned by the



HOPTON CASTLE, HEREFORDSHIRE.

hundred rather than the score, they absorbed sufficient numbers to have doubled or trebled the armies in the field. While Edgehill, or Newbury, or Naseby were fought by hosts of 10,000 or 15,000 a side, the total of the forces obeying king or Parliament at the moment must have been six or eight times as numerous. Yet the general fortune of the war was undoubtedly settled by the great battles, not by the local fighting; the results of a dozen petty successes were promptly upset by one pitched battle. For when the field army of either party had been beaten out of the country side, all the petty garrisons belonging to it were bound to drop one by one into the victor's hands. Towards the end of the struggle both

Cavalier and Roundhead seem at last to have realised this fact and took to "slighting," *i.e.* dismantling or partially blowing up all the small strongholds that they captured, instead of placing garrisons in them. This was the only true policy. A thousand men in a dozen small garrisons were almost useless; the same number held in hand as the reserve of a field-army might decide the war.

Strength
of the
Main
Armies.

The extreme difficulty which we find in accurately determining the forces present at any of the great fights of the war is to a large extent due to this parcelling out of regiments which prevailed on both sides during the years 1642-44. It is no use to ascertain the initial strength of a regiment if we find that it has been dropping companies and half-companies on the way. On the other hand, in times of extreme need, a commander would sweep together every man that could be spared from the neighbouring strongholds, and put together a regiment or two from these fragments—regiments that appear in a mysterious way on one field, and resolve themselves into their component parts when it is over. At Marston Moor, for example, no one can say exactly how many infantry Prince Rupert brought to join Newcastle, for he had been picking up small parties all the way from Worcester to York, and forming them into what a later generation would have called "battalions of detachments." There appear to have been one or two similar corps in the army which King Charles himself led to Naseby, the bodies in Spriggs' well-known plan of that fight which defy identification.

Varying
Organ-
isation.

The continual dispersing and re-collecting of temporary military units is the fact which explains the great number of the *reformados*, *i.e.* officers of disbanded regiments, which we find on both sides, but more especially on that of the king. When a corps was split up, or cut to pieces in fight, its remnants were incorporated with a more intact body, and the superfluous officers cast upon the world, till some colonel engaged in patching together a new regiment chose to make use of them. The haphazard form of organisation, the continued disbanding and re-enrolling, and the different measure in which the stress of battle fell on different corps, led to great variety in the numbers of the individual horse and foot regiments. Sometimes we find very large bodies, running up to 2,000 strong—they are



PARLIAMENTARY STANDARDS.

occasionally called "double regiments"—like the king's footguards at Edgehill, or Newcastle's celebrated "Whitecoats" in the North. Sometimes they ran to no more than 500. It is seldom that we get accurate and complete statistics, what the modern soldier would call "morning states," of the exact completement of each division of an army. For this reason it may be useful to give the

figures of the London regiments, from which Essex took the troops that fought so well at Newbury. When they mustered in Finsbury field in September, 1643, their strength was as follows:—

			Pikes.		Muskets.		Officers.		Total.
White Regiment	...	...	520	...	600	...	70	...	1190
Yellow Regiment	...	...	448	...	506	...	70	...	1024
Orange Regiment	...	...	408	...	630	...	63	...	1101
Green Regiment	...	...	297	...	503	...	63	...	863
Tower Hamlets Regiment	...	...	385	...	849	...	70	...	1304
Southwark Regiment...	...	...	456	...	868	...	70	...	1394
Westminster Regiment	...	...	854	...	1084	...	80	...	2018

The two remaining regiments, the "Red" and "Blue," which had just returned from Newbury field, have not their numbers so accurately given; the Blue had been very strong, a full 1,400, but is now estimated "at the most 1,000." The Red regiment had been "much banged," and had lost its major and one of its four captains slain: it "would only muster 1,000 if well recruited." If it had marched out 1,100 strong—the average of the six old regiments—it had probably lost 400. The recruiting, however, was easy, for the city had raised seven "auxiliary regiments," or second battalions, named by their colours like the older

regiments, and the 7,200 men whom these provided could no doubt be drafted into the corresponding corps of the first line.

The reader will note the extreme inequality of the proportion of pikes and muskets in different regiments. In the Tower Hamlets regiment there were not quite 400 pikemen to 820 musketeers, while in the White and Yellow regiments there were full five pikes to six muskets. The Red, White, and Blue were five-company regiments, the Yellow, Green, and Orange four-company regiments, while the Tower Hamlets and Westminster regiments had six companies apiece, and the Southwark seven. Each company being supposed to number 200 men, it will be seen that all were up to their complement, and the Westminster corps well over it, with full 400 to each company. The officers comprised, in each regiment, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major (still called sergeant-major), and from four to six captains, each with a lieutenant and ensign. There were three or four sergeants, and apparently about the same number of corporals to each company.

Looking through the names of the officers, we find that one regiment was commanded by a baronet from Rutlandshire, but most of the others by aldermen. The captains were nearly all merchants or large shopkeepers. In the regiments raised outside London, however, it is generally found that the Puritan gentry supply the larger proportion of officers, and the trading classes only the minority. Even when the "New Model" army took the field, in 1645, it was noted that among its thirty-seven chief officers nine were of

Pikemen
and Mus-
keteers.

Officers.



PARLIAMENTARY STANDARDS.

noble, twenty-one of gentle blood, and only seven not gentlemen by birth.

Cavalry.

The cavalry regiments of the Civil War averaged about half the strength of the infantry corps. A strong regiment would be 600, a weak one 400 sabres in all. They were divided into troops of about 100 strong, each under a captain, lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster—the last a commissioned officer like the first three. Each troop had some three sergeants and four corporals.

Down to the raising of the "New Model" the Parliamentary



ROYALIST STANDARDS.

forces were composed of very various elements: (1) the volunteer regiments raised by popular leaders when the war first began; (2) the well-disciplined London train-bands; (3) the permanent levies made by counties "associated" together, of which the best trained were the Eastern league known as the "Associated Counties" *par excellence*; (4) the less efficient militia, which was not permanently kept up, but only raised at time of need; (5) irregular bands, levied by commissions of lieutenantancy, in districts where the Royal power was strong and the Parliament had not been able to get the county organisation into its hands, and had to rely on the zealous efforts of individuals.

The "New Model" was destined to replace the first and third elements, substituting a national force for regiments



Fifer.



Targeteer.



Pikeman.



Infantry Officer.



Musketeer.



Targeteer.



Caliver-man.



Drummer.

SOLDIERS OF THE "NEW MODEL."

(By permission, from the original figures at Cromwell House, Highgate.)

The "New
Model."

depending on personal or local loyalty. The old regiments of the armies of Essex and of the "Associated Counties" were disbanded, and re-formed into new units, made up to their full complement by men partly pressed and partly volunteering from the militia and train-bands. The varying and irregularly doled-out pay, which the county committees had given their regiments, was replaced by a fixed and liberal allowance of eightpence a day for the foot-soldier and two shillings for the trooper. From the method in which it was raised, it is obvious that the "New Model" was not, as has often been asserted, wholly composed of staunch Independents, or put together from very carefully selected materials. All the available men of the old army were drafted into it, whatever their political and religious views, and the pressed men, who joined against their own will, must have represented all manner of opinions and degrees of zeal. If the "New Model" became a homogeneous body, and developed strong and distinctive doctrines of the Independent type, it was from the influences exercised on it by its officers after it had been organised, not from any deliberate choice in the elements of which it was composed (p. 354).

Tactics in
the Civil
Wars.

A short survey of the tactical aspect of the fighting of the Great Rebellion shows that we have reached an epoch in the art of war very different from the preceding one. For the first time since the thirteenth century the cavalry is more important than the infantry in the English army. Its numbers in proportion to the foot-soldiery have swelled enormously. At Naseby nearly half of the Royal host (4,000 out of 9,000), and more than a third of the Parliamentary force (5,000 out of 13,000), served on horseback. This was a specially large proportion, but as a rule the cavalry were a good third of any force that took the field. This rise in the number and estimation of the mounted arm came from the weakness of the composite foot regiment of pikemen and musketeers. In such a corps half the men were of no use for close combat, and the other half of no use for anything except close combat. The chance of being able to catch the musketeers unprotected was very great; any clever cavalry officer might fairly hope either to come in rapidly upon them before they could shelter themselves, or else to roll them up against the pikes, and break in during the consequent confusion.

It will be noticed that most of the decisive battles of the war were won by the cavalry of one side or the other driving off its opponents of the same arm, and then turning upon the hostile infantry, and routing it by charges from the flank or rear. Such was the main drift of the fighting at Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar, and to a more limited extent at Edgehill, Cheriton, and many smaller fights such as Roundway Down, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gainsborough. It was very exceptional for infantry to beat off cavalry, unless the assailants were hampered by enclosures, or had their impetus broken by charging up hill or across rough ground. The best known success of infantry, that of the London regiments at the first battle of Newbury, gave the victors no more than an undisturbed retreat.

On the whole it may be said that all through the war the cavalry arm won all the positive victories, and the infantry was mainly used for steady resistance rather than for striking the great offensive blows. The foot-regiment was not destined to become self-sufficing, and independent of the aid of its mounted comrades, till the invention of the bayonet, nearly forty years after the war of the Great Rebellion had come to an end.

ON the death of Charles I., England, from being a kingdom became a commonwealth. The monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished on February 7th, 1649, and on February 14th a Council of State, composed of forty-one Parliamentary officials and military men, was appointed to exercise the executive power. But though the Council of State represented the majority of the remaining fragment of the House of Commons, the army was practically supreme, and was itself controlled by

ARTHUR
HASSALL.
The Com-
monwealth
and Pro-
tectorate.



MEMORIAL RINGS OF CHARLES I.
(British Museum.)

Cromwell. The king's death, so far from bringing tranquillity to the country, only increased the difficulties of the successful general. The Royalists were daily growing in importance; London, to some extent under Presbyterian influence, remained recalcitrant; and the extreme section of the army, headed by Lilburn, put forward doctrines subversive of the existing order of society. They demanded the greatest possible liberty for the individual, and the imposition of strict limitations on the power of the Government; while Cromwell, on his part, was resolved to preserve the authority of the executive power and to maintain the existing social orders. Ireland and Scotland, too, required firm treatment. In March, 1649, Cromwell was appointed by the Council of State to take command in Ireland, but before he set out for his memorable Irish and Scottish campaigns he put down the Levellers with a determined hand. In the autumn of the same year he thoroughly conquered Ireland, and in the spring of 1650 proceeded to Scotland, where the presence of the young Charles brought into opposition to Cromwell the whole of the Scottish nation. The decisive battles of Dunbar (September 3rd) and Worcester, a year later (September 3rd, 1651), overthrew the hopes of the Royalists both in Scotland and England, and the close of the year 1651 saw the three kingdoms practically united under the nominal rule of the English House of Commons.

Difficulties
of the
Common-
wealth.

No sooner, however, were the three kingdoms tranquillised than the old quarrels burst out afresh between the army and Parliament. Between Cromwell's soldiers and the Parliamentarians a fundamental difference existed respecting the future constitution of the State. The former strongly objected to the Parliament being in perpetual session and continually usurping the functions of the judicial and executive authorities. The army had always protested against the arbitrary power of the Parliament, and it now demanded its dissolution, on the ground that it no longer represented the nation.

The Parliamentarians, on their part, aimed at reducing the army to submission, and at securing the triumph of the Commonwealth. They did not exactly propose to perpetuate the existing House of Commons, but they desired to adopt a scheme providing for a continuous succession of Parliaments, each lasting two years. While the army was complaining of



THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

the number of lawyers in the Parliament, of the inequality and tediousness of the existing judicial system, and of the want of absolute toleration, the Parliament, in September, 1651, ordered the army to be reduced, voted that they themselves should not be dissolved till November, 1654, and in order to gain popularity attempted to unite Holland and England.

The Long
Parliament
Dissolved.

In November, 1652, hoping that, owing to the effect of Blake's victories, they would be re-elected, the Parliamentarians resolved on a dissolution, but at the same time decided that all members of the present Parliament should be *de jure* members of the next. The introduction of a Bill, by Vane, to give effect to this decision brought matters to a crisis, and Cromwell constituted himself the mouthpiece of the prevailing dissatisfaction. Conferences had already been held between the officers and the members of the Parliament, and it was not till it was realised that Vane's Bill was on the point of becoming law that Cromwell, on April 20th, 1653, suddenly dissolved the House of Commons, and the Long Parliament came to an end.

The
Little Par-
liament.

The army was at last triumphant, and the country, having no sympathy with the aims of the late Parliament, tacitly acknowledged the supremacy of the military elements. The army, however, had no intention of grasping political power, and Cromwell having dissolved the Council of State, summoned 140 of his nominees—called in later days Barebones Parliament, or the Little Parliament—and organised a Council of State, consisting of thirty-one persons. Six of the members of the new Parliament came from Ireland, and five from Scotland; all were chosen from men who had given proofs of fidelity to the Parliamentary cause. The assembly proved a failure, and in no respect came up to Cromwell's ideal. With no practical knowledge, the members attempted to carry out, without due deliberation, a number of drastic reforms. No exception could be taken to proposals to simplify judicial procedure, to put an end to duels, to ameliorate the law of debt, or to abolish tests. But not satisfied with the consideration of such excellent measures, the Parliament attempted to destroy the whole system of Chancery, and to abolish advowsons and tithes, without providing any means for the support of the

clergy. The Little Parliament became intensely unpopular with all but the dreamers and fanatics. Supported by public opinion, Cromwell without hesitation faced this new crisis in his life. On December 12th, 1653, the ministry in the Parliament resigned their power into the hands of the Protector, and the Little Parliament vanished, unregretted by any important section of society.

On December 16th Cromwell was installed at Westminster as Lord Protector, in accordance with the Instrument of Government which had been drawn up by Lambert and the Council of Officers. By this—the first written constitution—the executive

The Pro-
tectorate.



SEAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

power was entrusted to the Protector and Council of State. Cromwell was to have the right of pardon, except for treason or murder, and, in conjunction with the Council, control of the forces of the country and the right of peace or war. A Parliament was to be summoned every three years, and to sit for one year. No taxes or laws could be passed without its consent. Though the Protector could for twenty days refuse his consent to a statute, he could not prorogue or dissolve Parliament till it had sat for five months. Until the meeting of the first Parliament of the Protectorate, on September 3rd, 1654, Cromwell and his Council governed the country, and these nine months form an admirable illustration of the Protector's fitness for ruling. Not only was the union of the three kingdoms completed, but eighty-two ordinances were passed bearing on the social organisation of the country, including in

Cromwell
as Ruler.

their scope the repair of highways, the prohibition of duels, the improvement of the laws about debtors, the regulation of the police in London, the simplification of the jurisdiction of Chancery.

When Parliament met in the autumn of 1654, the difficulties inherent in the attempt to separate the executive and legislative powers became at once apparent, and the members of the assembly exhibited a great unwillingness to accept the constitutional settlement effected by the Instrument of Government, and which had been drawn up and imposed by the army. They demanded the subordination of the Protector to Parliament, though they were ready to accept the government of a single person. Led by Bradshaw and Haselrig, they began to discuss the new constitution in virtue of which they had been summoned.

The Fund-
amentals.

Cromwell, while admitting their right to discussion, thought it necessary to intervene, and demanded that the Parliament should accept the following Fundamentals:—(1) That the Government rests with Parliament and one. (2) That Parliament should not perpetuate its powers. (3) That Parliament should not command the army. (4) That liberty of conscience should be allowed. Upwards of a hundred members refused to sign an undertaking to be faithful to these four conditions, and were excluded; the remainder proceeded to discuss and to alter the articles of the Instrument of Government. As no steps were taken for the benefit of the nation, and as no supplies were granted, Cromwell, having waited the expiration of five lunar months, dissolved the Parliament on January 22nd, 1655. He struck none too soon. Military, social, and political plots were in the course of formation, and resolute action was necessary.

Govern-
ment by
Major-
Generals.

The military malcontents were dispersed, the attempt of the Levellers was put down, and an important Royalist rising under Penruddock was easily suppressed (March, 1655). Till September, 1656, he ruled by a military despotism which, in many of its aspects, was as tyrannical as the ten years of Charles I.'s government, from 1629 to 1639. The country was parcelled out into twelve divisions under major-generals, and martial law was declared. The liberty of the Press was restrained, the Episcopalian worship was suppressed, the use of the Prayer-Book prohibited (November, 1655), and taxes were



OLIVER CROMWELL PREACHING.
(From a satirical contemporary Dutch print.)

arbitrarily levied. On the whole the country, though despotically, was wisely governed, though the attempt to avert doctrinal tyranny by enforcing ceremonial uniformity was doomed to failure.

Cromwell's
Second
Parlia-
ment.

In September, 1656, Cromwell summoned his second Parliament. England was at war with Spain, and the existence of a deficit of £800,000 rendered expedient another attempt to rule by means of Parliament. Though some ninety of his opponents were excluded, the opposition in the Assembly to military government was as violent as ever. The majority, though far behind Cromwell in their views about toleration, and though bitterly hostile to the rule of the major-generals, were in reality attached to his person.

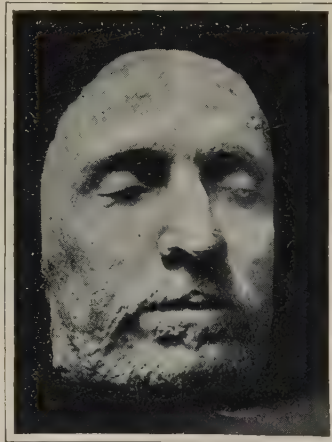
The
Petition
and
Advice.

Early in 1657 the Petition and Advice was drawn up in Parliament to amend the Constitution. The Council of State were to return to the position held by the Privy Council, a second Chamber was to be summoned, and the kingly office to be revived. On March 31st the Petition and Advice was presented to him, and he was offered the title of king. The commercial classes, and generally the Presbyterians and all who desired tranquillity, were in favour of Cromwell's acceptance of the crown. But opposed to such acceptance were the Saints, the Fifth Monarchy men, the army, and generally the majority of the Republican party. From March till June conferences on the subject were held, with the result that, to the surprise of many, Cromwell definitely declined the proposal. In January, 1658, the new House of Lords, including the Peers who had opposed Charles I., many of Cromwell's relations, and numerous officers and lawyers, met at Westminster. By the terms of the Petition and Advice, the excluded members were re-admitted to the House of Commons, and they at once rendered all legislative work impossible. They attacked Cromwell, they refused to recognise the new House of Lords, or to pay any heed to the Protector's appeal to them to cease their factious conduct in face of the threatened alliance between Spain and the adherents of Charles II. Irritated by these plots, he dissolved Parliament on February 4th, 1658, ordered the Royalists and Roman Catholics to leave London, appointed a High Court of Justice to try libels, and told Broghill to warn Ormond, who

was plotting in England, to leave the country. Supported by London and the army, Cromwell had little difficulty in overthrowing the schemes of his enemies at home and abroad. A threatened invasion by Charles II. from Flanders, on which the Republicans had relied, came to nothing; his foreign policy was thoroughly successful. On September 3rd, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he died, his life being prematurely shortened through his efforts in war and government. Though he cared little for constitutional reforms, he had realised the necessity of adhering to the old constitution of England—modified, and, if possible, purified; he had endeavoured to establish religious liberty. But his government was supported by a minority of the nation, and that minority was principally composed of his soldiers. On Cromwell's death his son Richard was recognised as his successor, and on January 27th, 1659, a new Parliament met. But Richard could do little to stave off the inevitable anarchy. Four distinct parties—the Cromwellians, the Republicans, the Wallingford House party (the army), and the Royalists—struggled for supremacy, and the Parliament was not only powerless to decide between these contending sections, but, by upholding the authority of the civil power over the army, brought about their own downfall. On April 21st Richard decided to throw in his lot with the army, and on April 22nd the Parliament was dissolved by the soldiers; the Protectorate was abolished shortly afterwards, and on May 7th the remnant of the Long Parliament—the Rump—was recalled, and Lenthall reassumed his duties as Speaker of a House composed of forty-two members.

Though few in number, the Commons refused to act in subordination to the army, and the problem of reconciling the civil and military powers remained unsolved.

Death of
Cromwell.



CAST OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S FACE.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

Richard
Cromwell
Protector.

On October 13th the army, having successfully put down a Royalist insurrection at Winnington Bridge, refused the members admission to the House, and the Parliament was dissolved, only to be restored again to power on December 26th. The tide was now setting strongly in the direction of the Restoration of Charles II., the nation being sick of the domination of the military element. Even in the ranks of the army were many who recognised the impossibility of carrying on the government of a great kingdom by means of even a well-disciplined soldiery. Of this feeling George Monk, who commanded the English forces in Scotland, made himself the



SEAL OF RICHARD CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

Monk and
the Re-
storation.

mouthpiece. On January 1st, 1660, he marched south, and, joined by Fairfax and the army, he entered London on February 3rd and declared for a free Parliament. On March 16th the Long Parliament came to an end. On April 14th the new Parliament met. It was composed to a great extent of Royalists, and it at once formally voted the restoration of the kingly office and the House of Lords "according to the fundamental laws of the realm," and invited Charles II. to return. On the day of the meeting of the Parliament he had issued the declaration of Breda promising toleration, pardon to all who were not specially excepted by Parliament, and security of tenure to the actual holders of confiscated estates. On May 25th the king landed at Dover; on the 29th he entered London. The rule of the army was over, the restoration of the monarchy was accomplished.

FROM the beginning of the Civil War religious parties were more sharply divided. From the first conflict of the troops there appears behind the political and military contests the intellectual strife of the three clearly marked religious parties—the Church, the Presbyterians, the Independents. Besides these there were the endless sects which now sprang into vigorous, if ephemeral, life; but these three great divisions of opinion included the mass of the nation, and answered, too, to the political parties which, from early in the reign, had been developing fixed and permanent principles. The Churchmen, as a whole, were indubitably monarchy men: “No Bishop: no King.” Presbyterians, as in Scotland, were essentially oligarchs. To their party belonged the great peers who still cherished the idea of baronial independence and aristocratic rule. The Independents—a new and energetic offspring of Protestantism, far outstripping their fathers, the Brownists—were of necessity Republicans. Presbyterianism could thrive under a constitutional monarchy, but Independency, in its very root idea, implied a Republic.

Thus complicated were religious questions with politics; and from the very first shot of the war men questioned whether its cause should be sought in Church or State. How far was religion the cause of the Great Rebellion? The question is one of enduring interest. At first sight we might be inclined to give the chief importance to the religious feeling, which was, perhaps, more far-reaching and many-sided than any political sentiment. The Somerset and Cheshire petitions, the king’s speeches and declarations, and the debates in Parliament show clearly enough that it was the attack on the Church which gave the king his strongest following (p. 303). Men who could, side by side, impeach Laud and condemn Strafford, were separated on the “Root and Branch Bill,” which would exclude the bishops from the House of Lords. Falkland, the clear thinker, found in the king’s army the nearest approach that the troubles of the time could afford him to the cause of “sweetness and light.” Toleration was for the king.

On the other side the opponents fought for many different objects (p. 308). Some were contending for the abolition of prelacy and the whole theory of sacerdotalism, which they seemed to see creeping upon them with the “privy paw” of the great

W. H.
HUTTON.
The
Religious
Struggle:
Episco-
pacy and
its Adver-
saries.

Politics
and Eccle-
siastical
Theory:
the
Royalists.

The
Parlia-
mentary
Party.

wolf of Rome. Some fought to free themselves from the interference with personal liberty which it had been the occasion of the best legislation of the Long Parliament to prevent. Some fought for their possessions, which they feared that the king, with his benevolences and ship-money, would find many ways of seizing. More, perhaps, were fighting in the cause of the Parliament which they had elected, and whose views of public affairs they concluded that it was their duty implicitly to follow. Many fought for personal ends, many for the public good, and many more considered that the two must necessarily coincide. To bind these heterogeneous elements together there was no force so powerful as religion; and the Puritans were the natural reformers of the State. On the one hand it is quite clear that there would never have been a rebellion of religionists if there had been no constitutional grievances to unite the different sects; on the other, it is plain, from the triumph of the Independents and the establishment of a military absolutism, that the constitutionalists had not strength of their own to win a victory. During the earlier years of Charles I.'s reign—though it was a famous age of controversial divinity, and there was a strong and active Puritan opposition—there was a marked predominance of constitutional over religious Bills submitted to Parliament. When religion became a prominent factor in the political situation, each step in advance taken by the Parliamentary side was won by a gradually decreasing party. There were many, says May, the official historian of the Long Parliament, who believed that the Parliamentary cause would have sped better “if the Parliament had not so far drawn religion also into their cause.” Yet religion supplied the enthusiasm where the constitutional opposition gave the programme of reform, and there were few on the Parliament's side who did not find it needful at least to assume a cloak of religious phraseology.

Puritan
Icono-
clasm.

While political theory and the endeavour to meet an obvious need for reform showed the Puritan leaders at their best, the progress of the war was marked by deeds which discredit the rank and file of the party. As the Parliamentary army set out from London in September, 1640, “they broke into Churches, burnt Communion rails, and tore up prayer-books and surplices. A clergyman found wearing a surplice was held to be a fair mark for insult and outrage.” In Oxford, in the same month, they

seized as much of the College plate as they could get, and fired shots at the statue of the Virgin with the infant Saviour on the porch of the University Church (p. 37). At Canterbury they hacked to pieces a representation of Christ on tapestry, and made a target of a stone crucifix. They foully defiled Worcester Cathedral. The House of Commons meanwhile appointed a Committee to destroy all idolatrous images, which broke up the noblest monuments and destroyed all the ancient glass in Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church. In 1643 Cheapside Cross was destroyed by order of the Common Council. Two years later Cromwell, in his harshest mood, stopped the



ICONOCLASM.

(Attributed to W. Hollar.)

Cathedral service at Ely by marching into the Choir with his men, and ordering the priest to "forbear altogether his choir-service, so unedifying and offensive," to "leave his fooling, and come down."

The actual course of events, so far as it affected the conflict between the partisans and the various opponents of Episcopacy, may be briefly summarised as follows. In January, 1643, the Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy was passed by the House. In August English Commissioners were sent to Scotland to settle the bases of an agreement in religion. In July "an assembly of godly and learned divines" had met at Westminster. It consisted of 130 clerical and 30 lay members, the latter selected from the two Houses; and it was from the first entirely the creature of Parliament, allowed only to consider what Parliament referred

The
Church
made
Puritan.

The
Solemn
League
and
Covenant.

to it. It revised the Thirty-Nine Articles in a Puritan sense, but it was by no means eager for more than a "union of hearts" with Scots Presbyterianism. Still, it was imprudent to alienate the Scots, by whose aid, or at least neutrality, was it alone possible to carry on the war. On August 26th the Solemn League and Covenant, abolishing Episcopacy and vowing an endeavour towards a complete union between the two Churches, was sent from Scotland to Parliament and to the Westminster Assembly. It was subscribed by Parliament, and ordered to be taken by all



PULLING DOWN CHEAPSIDE CROSS.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

men above the age of eighteen. Thus, while the Scots were propitiated, many good Parliament men were estranged. Sir Ralph Verney, who took the side against his father and clung to the theories of the Puritan Commons, and who hotly opposed all Laudian principles, yet could not stomach the Covenant. Prominent politician though he was, he became thus in daily fear of imprisonment, and was compelled to flee over sea to preserve his liberty. His estates were sequestered by both sides, and it was not till after several years of banishment that he was allowed to compound, and later still that he could return to England. The

position of the Puritan House and the Puritan Assembly was in need of strong measures to support it in face of a gradually increasing dissatisfaction.

The *Committee for Preaching Ministers*, or, as it is more generally styled, *for Scandalous Ministers*, appointed in 1640, gradually drew to itself the whole direction of religion, and becoming later practically merged in the Committee appointed 31st December, 1642, "to consider of the fittest way for the relief of such good and well-affected ministers as have been

Discipline,
Disendow-
ment, and
Ritual.



THE SECTARIES AND THE BIBLE.

("Religious Enemies," 1641.)

plundered, and likewise to consider what malignant persons have benefices herein and about this town, whose livings being sequestered, they may supply their cures and receive the profits"—was to all intents and purposes, an Ecclesiastical Commission for the Church, now disestablished and partially disendowed. Ministers were now ejected on various charges, and local committees carried out the work in every part of the country where the Parliament had power.

The financial difficulty was, from the first, a pressing one. It was met at first by the sequestration of the temporalities of

the see of Canterbury (June, 1643), of the Abbey of Westminster (November, 1645), of the episcopal lands (October, 1646), and, lastly, by the confiscation of the lands of all Cathedral Chapters (April, 1649). A certain sum was also derived from the fines of those who compounded for their political offences. Compounders were allowed to claim some abatement if they settled endowments on ecclesiastical benefices. Thus, the fine of Sir Henry Thynne was reduced from £7,160 to £3,584 on his settling £2,000 on the rectories of Kempford, Buckland, and Laverton, and a less sum on Cirencester. It became common for parishes to petition for further provision from this source. The parishioners of the famous church of Stow, Lincolnshire, for instance, pleaded that they had a large parish of six hundred communicants, and had long been destitute of a preaching minister, the benefice being only worth £10 per annum, and desired that the lay rector might be compelled to make further provision for their spiritual needs.

But there were other requirements besides money. Some form of ordination must be devised, and this was done by the Westminster Assembly, the members of which were far from escaping censure for their own greediness and avarice. They set sail, declared Milton, "to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms." "New presbyter," it was soon discovered, was "but old priest writ large." Next, the Assembly issued a new liturgy to take the place of the Prayer-Book, now suppressed. The use of the old service-book was made penal, that of the new compulsory. A longer and shorter Catechism were added, and, lastly, the famous Westminster Confession, a body of Calvinistic and Puritan divinity.

Laud
Attainted
and
Executed.

It was in January, 1645, that the Lords agreed to the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer, and on the same day they passed the attainder of Archbishop Laud. The old man had lain long in prison, and had then suffered a wearisome and protracted trial. There was no legal treason of which he could be found guilty, and so a bill of attainder was promoted to remove him out of the way. So long as he lived, the figure of the Primate, grown pathetic and lovable in his imprisonment, might serve to rouse a Church feeling too strong to be dragooned. Thus he was brought to the block by personal enmities and public rancour, and so "the Archbishop and the

service-book died together.”¹ His death was followed by an increased severity against the ministers of the Church. It was penal not to take the Covenant or to use the Book of Common Prayer. Thus, the clergy to whom Episcopacy was of the essentials of the Church, or who obeyed the king's injunction to continue the old book, were, as delinquents, subject to the entire confiscation of their property, with the shadowy chance of the reservation by the Committee for compounding of one-fifth as a provision for wife and children in cases of extreme need. It has been calculated that some 2,000 clergy lost their livings

The
Clergy
Perse-
cuted.



EXECUTION OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND OTHERS.

(From a print attributed to W. Hollar.)

in England and Wales through refusal to take the Covenant. There has been question as to the number, but that it was very large is evident from a letter of Baillie, who, after describing the means taken to fill the benefices, adds, "even then some thousands of churches must *vake* for want of men." The Universities were, at the same time, purged by Parliamentary Commissions, and the strange spectacle was seen of General Cromwell as a Doctor of Law. At Oxford, by 1648, near six hundred members of the different foundations had been ejected, among them the most learned and pious writers of the age.

Through these bitter years, from the raising of his standard to his own death, Charles, among all his fluctuations, stood fast by the essentials of an historic Church. At Uxbridge, at Newport, at Newcastle, he agreed to concessions, even to the establish-

The King
and the
Church.

¹ Letter of W. Ashurst, Hist. MSS. Commission. X. Report, App., p. 4.

ment of Presbyterianism for five years, but to the abolition of bishops he could never yield. He dreaded the severing of the Church from the State—and that meant to him the Crown—but he had also learnt from Laud a more honourable and consistent principle. "It would be no less a change than Popery," he said, "and worse"; and "let my condition be never so low, I resolve, by the grace of God, never to yield up this Church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents." It was for this determination, as much as for any political reason, that he died; and his death, like Laud's, made certain the eventual triumph of the Church.

The
Church
under the
Common-
wealth.

The period from the death of Charles I. to the return of Charles II. may be briefly summarised. England drifted gradually into a military despotism, to which previous ideas of toleration were of necessity repugnant, in spite of the comprehensiveness of the non-Episcopal forms of worship originally contemplated in the ecclesiastical polity of the Protector (p. 357). The Prayer-Book was still suppressed. Those who used it were imprisoned. The penalties, at first not rigidly enforced, were called into activity by special proclamation in 1655. Evelyn records how on Christmas Day, 1657, he, with a London congregation, was arrested in the midst of Divine Service, when the communicants went up to the altar between the pikes of the intruding soldiers.

Popery and Prelacy were definitely banned, and gradually under the Independent rule Presbyterians and other Protestant sects came to find, notwithstanding the Toleration Order (p. 354), that they now enjoyed none of the religious equality which they had before denied to others.

The Inde-
pendents.

Under the name of Independents might be included very different classes—men of learning and thought, like Milton, whose "*Arcopagitica*," a plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing, was a protest against the despotism of Presbyterian censorship, and rough countrymen, whose religious enthusiasm took eccentric forms. The party rested on the strong individualism of men who had formed their own convictions anew from the beginning in the intent study of the Bible, and especially of the Old Testament; but it found support in a wider scheme of toleration than Presbyterianism suffered, and victory through the guidance of the one great master-mind of the Revolution.

1660]

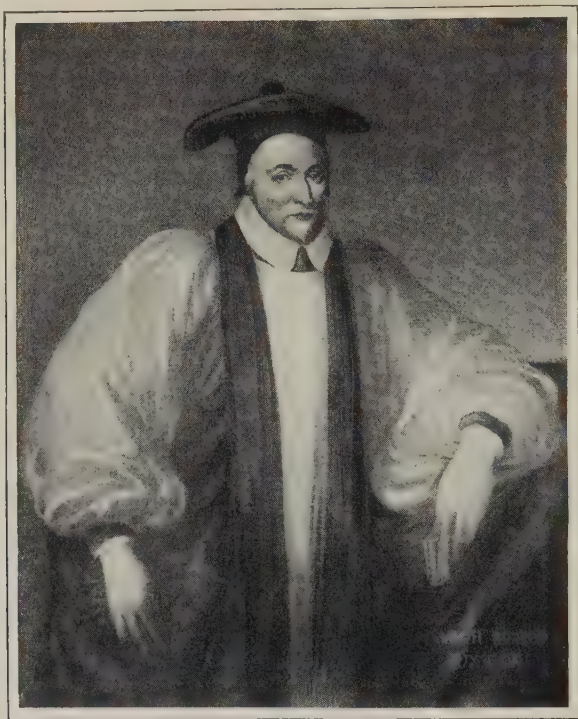
Independency, when it came to power, meant the rule of Cromwell. For several years, however, England was in confusion. Presbyterianism was nominally the established religion, but the Independents, through the army, were by far the more powerful party. Church government in any strict sense there was none. From 1648 to 1654 there was no legal provision for the ordination of ministers. Then a commission of "Triers" (p. 356) was appointed, who were to examine the fitness of candidates and to appoint them to vacancies if their spiritual experiences seemed adequate. The inquiries often assumed a ludicrous form, and at the best they were of the nature of an English inquisition, as Sadler, one of the victims, aptly styles them. At the same time the religious observance of Christmas Day was prohibited, marriages were only lawful if solemnised by a magistrate, and plays, horse races, and most public amusements, were forbidden. It is unquestionable that these restrictions were greatly resented by the poor, while among the richer folk the memoirs of the time show how many who had opposed the Laudian movement were even less satisfied with the new religious fashions. Lady Verney, fighting her husband's cause in London, knew not where to go to have her baby christened. "Truly," she wrote, "one lives like a heathen in this place; since I have recovered my health I have gone to our parish church, but could never but one time get any room for all the money I offered. And either I must be at the charge to hire a coach to try all the churches, or else sit at home; and when one gets room one hears a very strange kind of service, and in such a tone that most people do nothing but laugh at it. And everybody that receives must be examined before the elders, who, they all swear, asketh them such questions that would make one blush to relate." It is not difficult to understand the feeling that rose so rapidly, and that was for a century to condemn and deride the Puritanism which had changed the face of merry England.

The
Puritan
Tyranny.

It would be a mistake to consider that the position of the Church during the period ever appeared to be hopeless. One section of the clergy submitted to the Government *de facto* by taking The Engagement, an oath to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth "as it was established," without a king or House of Lords. Of this party the leader was the learned Dr. Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. These used liturgical

The Use
of the
Prayer
Book.

forms closely modelled on the Common Prayer. Others, in secret and among the faithful, used the proscribed book; and some in country districts were undisturbed by the Government. Thus while Juxon was ministering at Castleton House, Gunning and Wild in London were still using the full Anglican service. Ordinations were arranged for, and generous church-



ARCHBISHOP JUXON.

(By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.)

men provided for the starving clergy. So in England the Church furtively carried on her work. Some of her ministers, too, sought refuge abroad, and some of those who were afterwards to rule in the Church found employment in embassies and in the countless intrigues through which the exiled Court endeavoured to steer its way. Above all, the literary activity of the Anglican clergy never flagged. Pamphlets,

1660]

as well as serious treatises, prepared the way for the inevitable reaction.

So the period of proscription passed, and when government, on the great Protector's death, was proved to be impossible without a king, Church feeling, at least as much as politics, made the Restoration the most thoroughly popular movement in English history.

THE abolition of Episcopacy was determined on by the Long Parliament, not because the members of that Parliament were either Presbyterians or Independents, but because the enforcement of discipline by Archbishop Laud had brought about a spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical interference and a fear of ecclesiastical tyranny. It was the after course of events which resulted in the supremacy, first of the Presbyterians, and then of the Independents. The war carried on by the Parliament against the king necessitated the application to Scotland for military aid, and Scottish help could only be obtained by assimilating the Church system of England to that of the North. It was unwillingly done, but the times were urgent; news was continually arriving of victories won by the royal forces, and, as necessity has no laws, an ordinance was passed in 1643 calling into existence the Assembly of Divines, to advise Parliament as to the best means of preserving the peace of the Church at home, and bringing it into nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad. On September 7th the Solemn League and Covenant, as amended by the Commons, was accepted by the Lords, and on the 25th was sworn to by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines.

JOHN
BROWN.
The
Religious
Struggle:
Presbyter-
ianism
and
Dissent.

The Separatists, as such, had no place in the Westminster Assembly, but, in spite of their own disclaimer, some of the members were popularly regarded as Independents. Five of the most notable of these, agreeing in the main with Separatist ideas, but not concurring in denouncing the Church of England as apostate, were not without hope of arriving at some sort of compromise between the less connexional system of Independency and the more iron discipline of Presbyterianism. This they proposed to effect by holding that no congregation ought

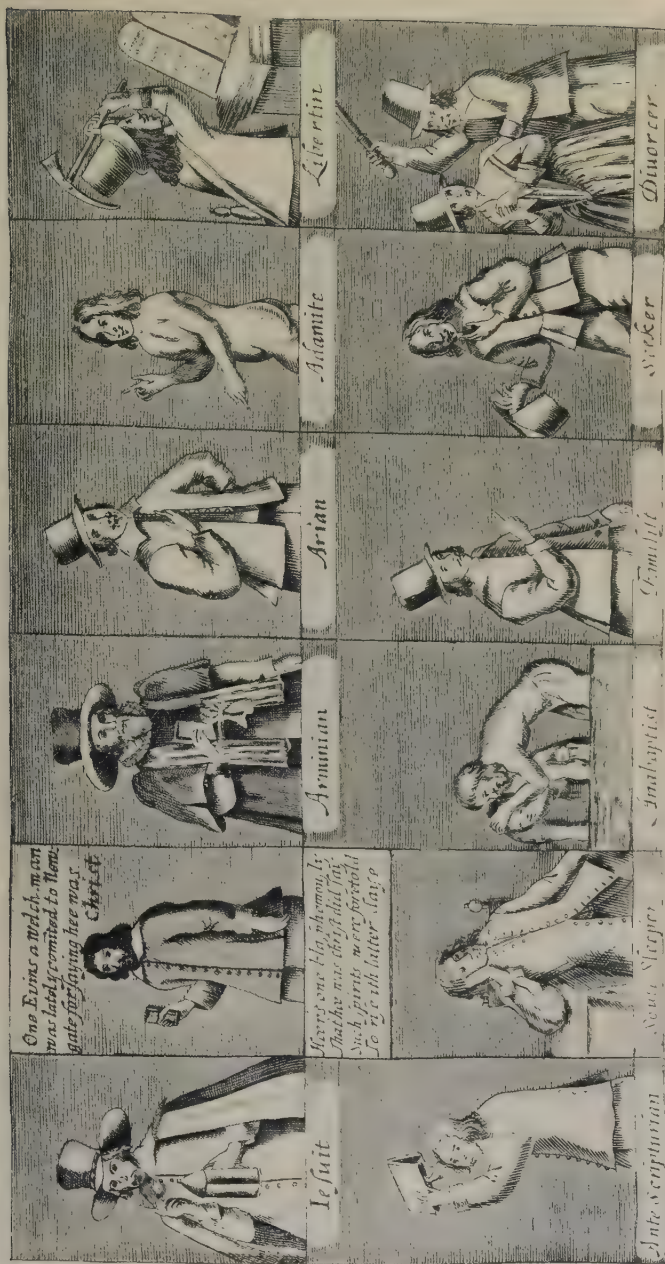
The
Efforts
at Com-
promise.

to be subjected to outside ecclesiastical jurisdiction, at the same time reserving to each separate community the right of remonstrating, or even refusing communion with the others. This *via media* met with approval from several men of ability and culture, who, though not Independents, were as jealous as they of clerical rule, and as much in favour of strengthening the influence of the laity. By the fusion of these two parties the Independency of the Civil War largely rose to power.

The burden of what opposition there was in the Assembly fell upon the five dissenting brethren, but towards the end of the year the course of the war led the main body to grow more conciliatory. Still, it was not till the following year, and after the battle of Marston Moor, that Cromwell, seeing his opportunity, prevailed upon the House of Commons to accept the Toleration Order. This Order asked the Committee of Lords and Commons to consider the differences in the Assembly on the matter of Church government, and to bring about union if possible; if that could not be done, then that they should find out in some way how far tender consciences, that could not in all things submit to the common rule, might be borne with according to the Word, and as may stand with the public peace.

The
Influence
of the
Army.

This policy was greatly strengthened by the course of events during the war, which necessitated the reconstruction of the Parliamentary forces and the adoption of the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model. The army thus reconstituted became largely Independent in its character. For the officers powerfully influenced the bent of the army, and the new officers were men of a pronounced, and above all a tolerant Puritanism, and they had on their side the men most energetic and most amenable to discipline, and especially the sturdier Puritans of the Eastern Association. This Army of the New Model was in the field early in 1645, and in the month of June the battle of Naseby ended in a victory for Cromwell, and proved the turning-point in the struggle between the party of the Independents and that of the Presbyterians. Up to this time Cromwell had felt, however much he disliked it, that there was no alternative to the policy of relying upon the help of the Scots against the king. That necessity, however, was now past, and he could speak out his mind. Immediately after the battle



VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PRACTICE, 1844.

(From a Contemporary Print.)

The Inde-
pendents
Dominant.

he wrote to Speaker Lenthall, announcing his victory, and saying that honest men had served the Parliament faithfully in this action. He hoped, therefore, nothing would be done to discourage them. They had ventured life for the liberty of their country, and they now trusted God and the Parliament for that liberty of conscience for which they had fought. The subsequent course of events, conjoined with the general drift of opinion against clerical power, gave support to the desire thus expressed. The mastery came more and more into the hands of the Independents in Parliament, and of the powerful group of lawyers who, though not Independents, were entirely against entrusting the clergy with secular jurisdiction, even in Church matters, except under the permanent control of Parliament. The statesmanship of this combined party led to the departure of the Scots, the surrender of the king, and to the preponderance of the Independents in the country, as being the national party, hostile to French, Irish, and Scots alike, and opposed to any treaty with a king in league with foreigners.

After the death of Charles, Cromwell's influence, powerful before, became paramount. As Lord Protector, his ecclesiastical policy rested on the principle of State recognition, support, and control. The articles of government, which must be regarded as proceeding from his inspiration, provided that the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, should be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these kingdoms. Christianity was thus recognised as part and parcel of the law of the land, and its solemnities were connected with all special public acts, so that England under the Protectorate was in theory a religious commonwealth, and the State possessed a spiritual as well as a secular character.

Cromwell's
Ecclesi-
astical
Aims.

Two main ideas seem to have guided Cromwell in his ecclesiastical policy—first, that there should be an established non-episcopal Church on a broad basis of evangelical comprehension, to be endowed and controlled by the State; and next, that round that Church there should be an ample toleration of dissent, which therefore provided for the existence of separate congregations. In 1654 two ordinances were passed, one providing for commissioners ("Triers") to approve public preachers presented to benefices; the other for the ejection of scandalous and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. Under

for itself. All that the Commissioners dealt with was the personal piety and intellectual fitness of the minister presented to the living. If he were shown to be worthy, he was at once installed. The Church buildings were regarded as the property of the several parishes, and in one was to be found a Presbyterian minister, in another an Independent, and in a third a Baptist. If there were churches that preferred to worship outside the national system, they were at liberty to do so. The Articles of Government declare that such persons "shall not be restrained, but shall be protected in the profession and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not their liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their part." This liberty, however, was "not to extend to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness."

The
Quakers

This being the national ecclesiastical system in England from 1654 to 1660, there was opportunity for the development of such communities as that of the Quakers. These people first began to be heard of about 1647, and some three years later they received the name by which they became generally known, though they had originally described themselves as "the Children of Light." The opinions they held and disseminated were by no means peculiar to them or originated by them. More than two centuries before the appearance of George Fox, their founder, Caspar Schwenkfeld, a Silesian nobleman, had propounded doctrines identical with those of the Quakers on the inward light; on immediate revelation, or the direct communication between God and the soul, without the absolute necessity of any untoward means, acts, or things, however important; and on sacraments, maintaining, as a necessary consequence of immediate revelation, that no mere bodily act, such as partaking of the Lord's Supper or Baptism, can give the inward and spiritual reality and power of the Lord's "body" and "blood," or that of the spiritual washing of regeneration. In 1547 Schwenkfeld's followers were ordered to leave Silesia. Their dispersion westward led to the spread of their opinions, and eventually these came to be embraced by a considerable party in the Waterlander Mennonite Church of Amsterdam, and so passed over into England before George Fox commenced his career. It is extremely probable that

1660].

the Early Friends adopted most of their discipline from the Mennonites—their practice of silent worship, of silent thanksgiving before meals, their testimony against all war and against oaths, and other practices and observances common to both. These views were, so to speak, in the air when the strong personality of George Fox rose to give them a wider local habitation in English life. Born in 1625, he first left his home in 1643, and during the next five years he appears to have listened to—and weighed most of the religious opinions in that seething, fervid time. Wandering from sect to sect, he found no man who could “speak to his condition.” He read his Bible, walked many days in solitary places, sat in hollow trees in lonesome spots till night came on, till at length, when almost despairing of ever finding rest, he “heard a voice, which said : ‘There is One, even Jesus Christ, that can speak to thy condition,’ which when he heard his heart leaped for joy. The Father of Life drew him to His Son by His Spirit. Then the Lord gently led him along and let him see His love, which is endless and eternal. Then love let him see himself. It showed him that all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, and that Jesus Christ enlightens, gives grace, faith, and power—that *all* was done by *Christ*.” Such is the account which George Fox gives of the great spiritual change he underwent, the result being that “his sorrows and troubles began to wear off, tears of joy dropped from him, and he saw the infiniteness and love of God in Christ.”

George
Fox.

In 1647 and 1648 he preached at meetings of professing Christians, who met to pray and expound the Scriptures. He went also from town to town, speaking to the “wickedest” people in the country. He spoke to judges and justices, charging them to give righteous judgment, and to the keepers of public-houses, urging them not to let people have more drink than would do them good. He petitioned Parliament against allowing more public-houses than were needful for travellers, thus multiplying mere drinking-houses. He raised his testimony against wakes, feasts, May-games, sports, plays, and shows. He went to fairs and markets, lifting up his voice against false balances and deceitful merchandise, urging men to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea and their nay nay; and, finally, to do to others as they would that

His Work
and Fol-
lowers.

others should do to them. He also went into the churches during the time of divine service, and openly testified against what he thought to be the mere formalism of the worship. It is not wonderful that, setting his face thus against all conventionalities, he found his way into prison, and that during the next quarter of a century he spent something like six years of his life in the loathsome dungeons of the time. But nothing could restrain the ardour of his undaunted spirit. Others caught the infection of his enthusiasm, "several persons



James Nayler Quaker, set 2 hours on the Pillory at Westminster whipt by the Hangman to the old Exchange London. Some Javes after. Stood two hours more on the Pillory at the Exchange and there had his Tongue Bored through with a hot Iron & Stigmatized in the Forehead with the Letter B: Decem: 17 anno Dom: 1656.

A PERSECUTED QUAKER.

(From an engraving attributed to W. Hollar.)

seeking the Lord became fellow-believers, and entered into society with him." From 1651 onwards, other preachers, such as William Dewsbury, Francis Howgill, John Audland, and Edward Burrough, became associated with him as fellow-labourers. By the year 1654 Fox had organised a band of sixty travelling preachers, who had caught his spirit and preached his doctrines. So large a company of preachers suggests many believers. No census of his followers was taken in Fox's lifetime, but soon after the Restoration a careful enumeration of Quakers in prison throughout all England was made, and it was found that their number exceeded 4,000,



THE QUAKERS' MEETING.
(From a Contemporary Print.)

and Robert Barclay states that in 1675 the number of Quakers in London amounted to 10,000, and at the end of the century they were at least 60,000. So far as numbers go, therefore, the movement from the first may be regarded as a great, even a splendid, success. But the life of its founder closes the heroic age of Quakerism, and thenceforward begins the period of decay.

ARTHUR
HASSALL.
Cromwell's
Foreign
Policy.

THE foreign policy of Cromwell's Protectorate stands out in brilliant contrast to that of James I. and Charles II. It was characterised by insight and decision; it proved highly beneficial to England. It had for its objects the advancement of Protestantism in Europe, the development of England's colonial and commercial interests, and the weakening of the Stuart cause on the Continent.

The Dutch
War.

In 1653 England was at war with Holland and Portugal, and at open enmity with France and Denmark. Of these Powers, France was occupied with a war with Spain, and Denmark and Portugal were not dangerous foes. The hostility of Holland was, however, of a more serious character. The battle of Worcester was barely decided before England found herself at war with the Dutch. The remoter antecedents of this conflict are dealt with in a subsequent section (p. 368). Intense jealousy now subsisted between the two nations with regard to the carrying trade. Holland, far ahead of England so far as commerce was concerned, had indignantly declined the Republican offer of a union between the two countries, and persisted in claiming the right of herring fishing in the English seas. The party of the Stadtholder had insulted the ambassador of the English Republic. On their side, the English claimed the right of searching Dutch ships on the ground that they carried Royalist arms, while the Dutch asserted that "free ships make free goods." But the climax was reached when the Parliament, in October, 1651, passed the famous Navigation Act (pp. 368, 378). Aimed as it obviously was at the Dutch carrying trade, and based on the protective system, the Navigation Act formed the leading, though not the assigned and ostensible, cause of the war which was formally declared on July 27th, 1652.

This war lasted nearly two years, and led to no decisive

1660]

results. While the Dutch were superior in the number of their ships and in tactics, the English had the advantage in their artillery and the weight of their ships. On April 5th, 1654, Cromwell, recognising that England required rest, and her foreign relations a complete readjustment, extracted a satisfactory peace from the Dutch. They agreed to the Navigation Act, and they paid an indemnity. Moreover, they promised that no enemy of the English Commonwealth should live in Holland, and that the Prince of Orange should not be admitted to the Stadtholdership. A few days later, on April 28th, Whitelocke, who had been sent on an embassy to Queen Christiana in November, 1653, brought his negotiations to a successful issue, and a commercial treaty with Sweden was concluded. Treaties with Portugal and Denmark the same year—which, like the Swedish treaty, insisted on privileges for England's commerce—enabled Cromwell to turn his attention to the war then raging between France and Spain. England was no longer isolated; she had broken through the circle that seemed to be gradually enclosing her. Charles II. had been deprived of the support of several European States, the commercial interests of England had been carefully advanced, and the trading privileges extended by the late treaties with Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, while the establishment of friendly relations with the three Northern Powers augured well for the formation of a great league of all the Protestant States in Europe. As early as March, 1654, he was courted alike by France and Spain, now in the midst of their great contest, and it seemed that an alliance between England and Spain was imminent. In the autumn of the same year, before he had joined either country, he despatched two fleets, of which one under Penn proceeded to South America, while the other under Blake watched over English trade in the Mediterranean. Tunis was bombarded, and English prisoners were released.

Com-
mercial
Treaties.

A Vigorous
Foreign
Policy.

The massacre of the Vaudois in Piedmont by the Duke of Savoy roused Cromwell's indignation and checked his negotiations with France. He incited the Protestant Cantons to attack Savoy, he warned Mazarin that the persecution must cease. The French minister, fearful of the formation of a coalition composed of England, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland, compelled the Duke of Savoy to make a treaty

The
Vaudois.

(August, 1655) with his Protestant subjects. Mazarin's compliant attitude coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between England and Spain. In October, 1655, a commercial treaty was signed by England and France. On May 3rd of the same year Penn and Venables had captured Jamaica.

The
Breach
with
Spain.

The rupture with Spain is adversely criticised on the ground that the policy of hostility to Spain—a return to the Elizabethan system—was “obsolete in idea, and tended to promote the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV.” But it was the misdirected foreign policy of Charles II. and James II. which facilitated the aggressions of Louis XIV. in Europe, and, moreover, Cromwell was practically forced into his war with Spain. The exclusiveness of Spanish colonial policy, and the uncompromising character of Spanish Catholicism, rendered an alliance between England and Spain well-nigh impossible. “The exclusive trade with their colonies and the exclusive supremacy of Catholicism, were the two main pillars,” says von Ranke, “on which their monarchy rested.” “They were the two eyes of the Spanish king,” was the assertion of the Spanish ambassador. But the Spaniards, not content with refusing to allow English trade with their colonies, and with enforcing the Inquisition in the case of English merchants, proceeded to harass English settlements in the West Indies. By destroying the colonies of St. Catalina and St. Christopher they rendered reprisals unavoidable. Though Penn and Venables failed in April, 1655, at San Domingo, they took Jamaica. The colonial war extended to Europe, and Cromwell, recognising the superiority of Mazarin's tolerant policy to the uncompromising Catholicism of Spain, and desirous to withdraw from the exiled Stuarts all hope of French aid, made a commercial treaty with France on October 24th, 1655, followed by an offensive and defensive one on March 27th, 1657. By the first of these, the Treaty of Westminster, the expulsion of Charles II. from French territory was agreed upon, and each nation undertook not to aid the enemies of the other; by the latter, the Treaty of Paris, 6,000 English troops were to take part in the war in Flanders, while Dunkirk and Mardyke were to be handed over to England.

The years 1657 and 1658 saw Cromwell at the height of his power at home, and his foreign policy at its fullest development. On April 20th, 1657, Blake destroyed the Spanish fleet



DUNKIRK. (From a print c. 1641.)

Cromwell's Climax. in the harbour of Santa Cruz, at Teneriffe, and his success decided John IV. of Portugal to ratify, without further delay, his treaty with England, and to unite with Cromwell in an attack on the Austro-Spanish houses. With Charles X. of Sweden, Cromwell constantly corresponded, the opposition of the Swedish king to the Hapsburgs forming an additional bond of union between Swedish and English interests. Like Cromwell, Charles X. was animated by Protestant zeal in his attempts to check the encroachments of Catholicism. The cause of Catholicism, indeed, was by no means dead. As an answer to the determined hostility of England, the Spaniards united their interests with those of Charles II., who now fixed his residence at Bruges, and made a treaty with Spain. To resist this new combination, and to prevent Dunkirk from becoming the centre of fresh attacks upon England, Cromwell, on March 28th, 1658, renewed his alliance with France, while his Ironsides assisted the French in the siege of Dunkirk. On June 14th the Spaniards were decisively beaten at the battle of the Dunes; on June 23rd Dunkirk fell, and was handed over to England. The capture of Dunkirk marks the culminating point of Cromwell's foreign policy. Charles X. was too much occupied with his own schemes of aggrandisement to allow himself to be used by Mazarin and Cromwell as an instrument for furthering their designs against the election of a Hapsburg to the Imperial dignity. Determined to establish his supremacy in the north of Europe, he upset Cromwell's cherished idea of a united Protestant northern Europe by attacking Denmark, and forcing that and other northern powers now threatened by Swedish aggression to ally with the Emperor for defence. Cromwell, while unwilling to oppose Sweden, was compelled to declare that he would not allow Denmark or Brandenburg to be threatened or conquered. In February, 1658, under the mediation of England and France, the treaty of Roskilde was signed by Sweden and Denmark. In surveying the condition of Europe and the relations of England with the Continental Powers in 1658, it must be allowed that Cromwell's foreign policy had not been entirely successful. A Protestant league, in face of the national interests of each country, was impossible. In August, 1658, war broke out again between Sweden and Denmark, and Cromwell's hopes of finding in Charles X. a prince ready to venture his all for the Protestant

Dunkirk Captured.

His Measure of Success.

cause were dashed to the ground. Though he intervened successfully a second time with Mazarin on behalf of the Vaudois, he could not prevent the election of a Hapsburg Emperor or the opening of negotiations for peace between France and Spain, which resulted, in 1659, in the Treaty of the Pyrenees. But he had gained for England a high place among foreign Powers, he had staved off the attempts of Charles II. to bring about a Restoration, and he had advanced England's commercial and colonial interests. In the history of the expansion of England, Cromwell's protectorate holds a very important place. He has been blamed for not allying with Spain, for not overthrowing the commercial power of Holland, and for not resisting the growing political influence of France in Europe. From this survey of his foreign policy, it will be apparent to most students of the period that had Cromwell lived fifteen years longer the Dutch fleet would not have sailed up the Medway, and the invasion of Holland in 1672 would never have taken place. That the balance of power in Europe was for some twenty-eight years destroyed was due, not to the alliance of Cromwell with France, but to the selfish and shortsighted policy of the later Stuarts.

AT the commencement of the Civil War the navy consisted of eighty-two sail. In 1653, at the height of the first Dutch war, it had grown to 204 sail; and during the remainder of Cromwell's life it was not allowed to decrease. At this time, when numerous warships—not, however, for the most part, of great size—were frequently on the stocks together, private shipyards began to spring into importance as providers of vessels for the service of the State. Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, and Portsmouth continued to construct much, but several of Blake's best craft were launched at Shoreham, Redriffe (Rotherhithe), Woodbridge, and other places which, in the eighteenth century, became noted for such work. Bristol, Harwich, Horselydown, Limehouse, Blackwall, Wapping, Maldon, etc., also entered the field; but first and second-rates—vessels, that is, of about 850 tons and upwards—were, almost without exception, turned out only by the Government yards until after the eighteenth century had begun.

W. LAIRD
CLOWES.
The Navy.

The most noteworthy naval episode under the Commonwealth

**The Dutch
War.**

was the first war with Holland. The origin of this dated back as far as the reign of James I. Nearly all its numerous causes, direct and indirect, were intimately bound up either with the naval pretensions or with the commercial aspirations of Great Britain. After the massacre at Amboyna (p. 189), in 1622, the Dutch, by way of reprisals for the alleged treachery on the part of the English, made themselves masters of the English factories in Ceram and the neighbouring islands, thus almost monopolising the spice trade (p. 187). James took no steps to resent the outrage; Charles had first the war with France and Spain, and then the civil conflict, to keep his hands employed, yet, in 1636, he did determine to exact due compensation from the Dutch, and he would no doubt have done so had they not given way at once upon another point—that of the fisheries in the British seas—which was in dispute, and had he not himself been in difficulties. These were quickly taken advantage of by Holland, which agreed to pay a fishing licence of £30,000, but paid it for one summer only, and which, having arrogated to itself the title of Lord of the Southern Seas, took and confiscated several English vessels in the waters of the Far East. Charles was not by that time in a position to go to war with the Dutch; and the Parliament, upon its rise to power, finding that several of the states of Europe, and especially Russia, held aloof from it on account of the execution of the king, chose to temporarily forget its grievances, and to endeavour to secure a close alliance between the two republican commonwealths. But the Orange party in Holland successfully opposed the execution of any treaty to that end. Incensed by the rejection of its proposals, and by the insults which were put upon its representatives (p. 362), the Parliament responded by passing the Navigation Act—a measure which, with insignificant changes, was subsequently confirmed by Charles II. (12 Ch. II., c. 18). This Act closed England and America to Dutch trade. At the same time, measures most displeasing to the Dutch were taken with regard to the fishery question, to the right of search, and to trade with the Levant and with Spain and Portugal. Holland was frightened. She sent over three ambassadors to endeavour to soften the situation. But the Parliament, instead of relenting, at once opened wide the floodgates of its pent-up grievances, and bluntly demanded satisfaction for the Amboyna outrage in 1622, the fishing dues

unpaid since 1636, and free trade upon the Scheldt. Soon afterwards it issued letters of marque and reprisals, in virtue of which, as well as for non-observance of the provisions of the Navigation Act, many Dutch vessels were seized. The Dutch realised the inconsistency of declaring war as a means of avoiding the payment of their just debts; nor were they prepared to contend openly that an English Parliament had no right to pass and carry into execution a Navigation Act for the regulation of



A SATIRE ON THE NAVIGATION ACT OF 1652.

(From a Dutch engraving.)

trade with England, nor to make reprisals when its rights and regulations were violated. Yet they had no difficulty in discovering a plausible pretext. They repudiated England's ancient claim to the honours of the flag (Vol. I, p. 456; II, pp. 60, 249). They decided to refuse to strike their colours and lower their topsails to English men-of-war in the English seas. The refusal became the ostensible cause of the war of 1652-54. That war was waged by an island state which for half a century had had small opportunities of exercising its navy, which had, compara-

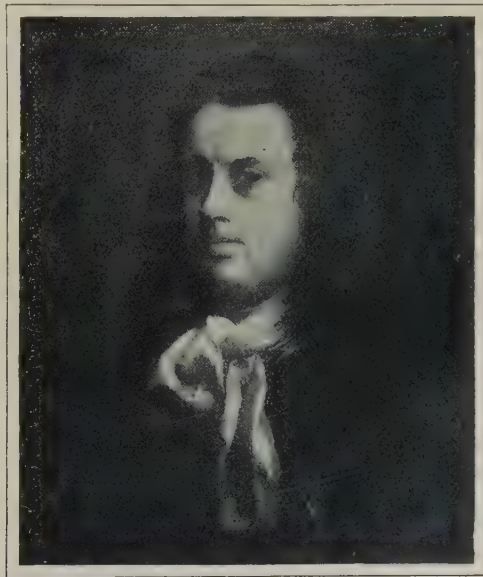
tively speaking, little commerce, and which even neglected its own fisheries, with a power which had recently won striking successes against Spain, which had a magnificent navy, which carried the sea-borne commerce of half the civilised world, and which cultivated the fisheries—then the best of all schools for seamen—in every sea. Holland had not only more shipping, but probably also more wealth than any other state in the world. Her resources are indicated by the fact that during the two years of the war she added to her already large navy sixty vessels of the higher rates. England entered the conflict with a relatively small navy, which she was at first obliged to reinforce with armed merchant ships, that were no fit opponents for the stout Dutch men-of-war. This is not the place in which to follow out the details of the struggle, but there is one aspect of it which ought not here to be overlooked. The war was instrumental in consolidating the English navy; yet, strange to say, the men whom it brought most prominently to the front as the sea-heroes of the country, and the builders-up of its young naval glory, were men who, until just before, had known nothing of the sea.

The Navy
and the
King.

Upon the collapse of the Royalist cause, and just before the execution of Charles I., a considerable part of the navy, the whole of which was then in the hands of the Parliament, remained at heart faithful to the exiled family; but, in all probability, most of the Cavalier officers and seamen would, in a short time, have either quietly withdrawn into civil life, or become reconciled to the new order of things, and there would have been nothing in the nature of a formidable secession, had it not been for the unwisdom of the Independents. This party found Robert Rich (Earl of Warwick) and Vice-Admiral Batten, two old and tried sea-officers, in command of the fleet; but, being suspicious of their political inclinations, sought to supersede them by officers who were unpopular. This led at once to a mutiny. The nominees of the Independents were seized and put ashore, and a large proportion of the fleet sailed to Holland. Another squadron, under Batten, who had been reinstated, proceeded to Calais. Presently the combined force of the Secessionists, with the Prince of Wales on board, appeared off the southern coasts of England. It was, however, kept in check by a fleet which the Parliament had collected under Warwick,

who had remained loyal, and upon its return to Holland was pursued thither. Desertions in Dutch waters reduced the Royalist squadron to fourteen ships; the Prince of Wales quitted it, and it passed under the command of Prince Rupert, who, in 1649, led it into Kinsale Harbour. Although Warwick had already rendered such good service, he was still distrusted by an influential party in the State; and the view of the Independents, that any energetic and determined man could command afloat, gaining strength, three military officers—Robert Blake, Richard

The
"Land
Admirals."



ROBERT BLAKE.

(Wadham College, Oxford.)

Deane, and Colonel Popham—were appointed to serve as "Admirals and Generals at Sea." These officers were very different men from those who had been previously appointed; yet it is certainly curious that this rash innovation was not only extraordinarily successful, but was instrumental in first introducing to sea life, at the mature age of fifty, a hero who has many claims to be considered as great a naval commander as England has ever produced. If we have had any admirals who rank as Blake's equals, Nelson and Hawke were surely the

only ones. Blake and Popham, who quickly acquired the confidence of the navy, blockaded Prince Rupert at Kinsale. When at length a storm enabled him to escape, he lost three of his ships. With the rest he went to the Mediterranean. Blake followed him, and at Carthagená destroyed more of his vessels. By that time Prince Rupert was scarcely better than a pirate. With the little force that remained to him, he fled to the Azores, and eventually to the West Indies, where nearly

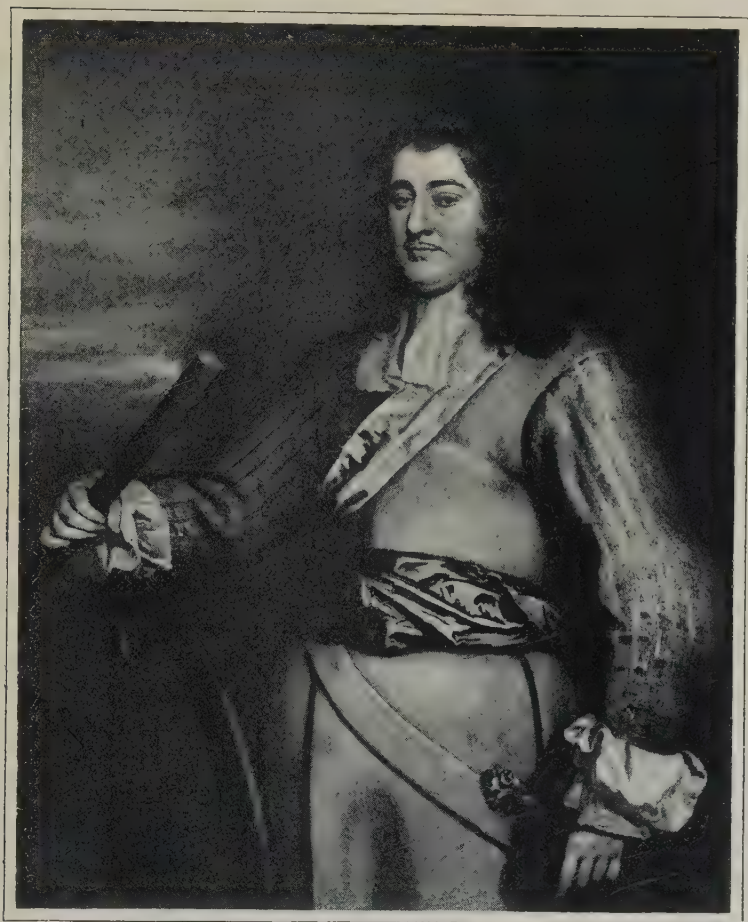


MICHEL ADRIENSZOOM DE RUYTER.

(From an engraving by Blooteling.)

all his squadron disappeared. Both against the piratical Royalists and the foreign enemies of the State, the land admirals did nearly all the very heavy fighting that had to be done at sea under the Commonwealth. Those already mentioned, and Bourne and Monk, were the most distinguished of these amphibious officers. Upon them fell the stress of the first Dutch war, which, after two years of savage struggle, in which quarter was often forbidden on both sides, ended, in 1654, with the acceptance by the enemy of the demand "that the ships of the Dutch, as well ships of war

as others, meeting any of the ships of war of the English Commonwealth in the British seas, shall strike their flags and lower their topsails in such a manner as hath ever been at



GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

(Greenwich Hospital; by permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.)

any time heretofore practised under any form of government." The first Dutch war is noteworthy, not merely for the gallantry and determination with which it was waged, and for the striking personality of the chief actors in it—Tromp and De Ruyter being

the great Dutch leaders—but also because it witnessed the introduction into the naval service of much that was novel. In the action with De Ruyter, off Plymouth, on August 16th, 1652, Admiral Sir George Ayscue, one of the earliest naval members of an honourable naval family, cut adrift from tradition and anticipated the great commanders of a much later date by breaking through the enemy's line and engaging them from windward, in spite of all their efforts to prevent the manœuvre. The campaign witnessed the first employment by the English in war of a vessel—the *Constant Warwick*—which may be regarded as the prototype of the frigate of the following century. It also



MEDAL FOR THE NAVAL ACTIONS OF 1653.

witnessed one of the earliest and finest examples of a "cutting-out" expedition—a form of heroism at which English seamen afterwards showed themselves to be superior to all rivals, except, perhaps, the Americans. In the Mediterranean the *Phoenix* had been taken by the Dutch, and carried into Leghorn Roads by Cornelis Tromp, son of the great Dutch admiral, who hoisted his flag in her. Owen Cox, who had formerly commanded the *Phoenix*, was directed by Commodore Appleton to retake her, and with only thirteen men he cut her out and brought her off with so much celerity that Cornelis Tromp had barely time to jump overboard to avoid capture. The war further witnessed the first employment on board ship of landsmen who, though not embodied in any regiment or corps, were practically marines. Blake took a



SEA-FIGHT IN A HARBOUR, BY VANDEVELDE.

(Hampton Court Palace.)

number of these small-arm men with him in the fleet which fought the battle of Portland in 1653, and they rendered excellent service. Finally, it was the occasion of the earliest distribution of medals to naval officers. After the actions of 1653 Parliament voted gold chains to Admirals Monk and Blake, Vice-Admiral Penn, and Rear-Admiral Lawson, and medals to all the captains. Previously, as far as can be ascertained, there had been no Parliamentary grant of medals to classes of officers, but only to selected individuals.

After the first Dutch war, the British commanders at sea had still plenty to do, and the land admirals at least did it always well. In the Mediterranean, Blake exacted satisfaction from Tuscany, cowed Algiers, chastised Tunis, and extorted an advantageous treaty from Tripoli. And if, of the bred naval commanders, Penn failed, Stayner gloriously distinguished himself by capturing part of the Spanish Plate Fleet, with an inferior force, in 1656. Blake's final exploit, undertaken with Stayner, was a fit ending to a naval career which, though it only lasted for eight years, first revealed to England what she was, and all that she might be, at sea. His forcing of the harbour of Santa Cruz, and destruction of the Spanish ships, which considered themselves absolutely secure there, was his last service. Yet, although the land admirals were so extraordinarily successful under the Commonwealth, the experiment of appointing military officers to high command in the navy was seldom repeated subsequently, and when it was repeated it was generally found to be a mistake, so that after the Revolution it was never attempted. Blake and his contemporaries, who entered the navy from the land service, succeeded in making themselves real seamen. Their imitators in the next generation were never more than mere soldiers afloat.



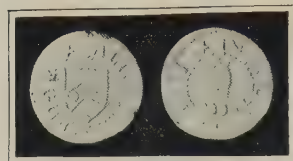
BILBOES.
(Tower of
London.)

The Navy
under the
Protectorate.

THE Civil Wars must have seriously interrupted English industry and trade, but the injury caused by them was less than might have been expected; and the wages of labour actually rose, both during the Civil Wars and under the

J. E. SYMES.
Industry
and Trade.

Commonwealth. The former rise might be accounted for by the demand created by the war, and by the fact that the labour market was relieved by the enlistment for the armies. Nevertheless, in the long run, this transfer of labour from the productive channels of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, to the unproductive work of supplying materials of war, and using it in destruction, must by itself have impoverished the nation.



FARTHING TOKEN OF
ROCHESTER, 1651.
(Original size.)

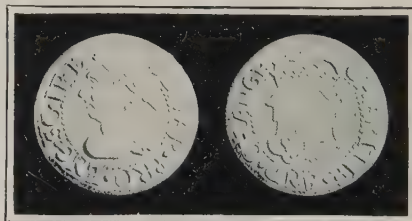
Fortunately there were other forces at work, tending to develop the various branches of English industry, and these more than compensated for the injury done by the Civil Wars.

The Rise
in Wages.
1633-1662.

The actual rise in money wages during this period may be gathered from the following table, which gives the average weekly earnings of various kinds of workmen, as calculated by Thorold Rogers (omitting fractions of a penny):—

WEEKLY AVERAGE.													Digger, Hedger, or Ditcher.				
Period.	Plumber.		Carpenter.		Mason.		Bricklayer.		Artisan's Labourer.								
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.					
1633-1642 ...	12	0	...	7	0	...	7	1	...	7	0	...	5	0	...	5	6
1644-1652 ...	13	0	...	8	10	...	8	5	...	8	1	...	5	10	...	5	9
1653-1662 ...	15	8	...	9	0	...	9	1	...	10	0	...	6	0	...	6	0

The second of these decennial periods corresponds pretty closely with the Civil War, and the third with the Commonwealth. The rise in prices, going on at the same time, was considerably less; in fact, the great rise in prices consequent on the additional supplies of the precious metals from America had practically ceased. Individual prices fluctuated greatly, but general prices were very slowly rising. The supply of the precious metals continued to grow, but the demand for them now kept pace with the supply. The increased demand was partly due to the increased population, but chiefly to the



FARTHING OF THE PROTECTORATE.
(Original size.)

1660]

development of trade and industry. The working classes were thus materially better off than they had been under the early Stuarts, though it must be noticed that Puritanism, by abolishing holidays and generally discountenancing amusements, tended to make work longer and harder. When we allow for this, and for the small rise in prices, it is questionable whether there was much improvement in real wages, measured by time.

While England was absorbed in civil war, Holland was extending and consolidating her mercantile supremacy. Before the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch had practically secured most of the vast trade which Venice had formerly carried on with the East, and much of that which the Hanse towns had conducted in Europe. They had steadily gained on their rivals in the trade with America and in the chief fisheries, while both the carrying trade of the world and the shipbuilding industry seemed to be becoming Dutch monopolies. The causes of this pre-eminence were very various. Among the chief of them were the industry, thrift, and commercial aptitude of the Dutch people. But the field was left almost free for Holland by the troubles of the rest of Europe. Italian commerce had been nearly destroyed by the wars and invasions of the sixteenth century. Venice alone, though severely injured by the League of Cambrai (1508), and incessant wars with the Turks, still retained something of her old commercial glory. The other parts of Italy were plundered by Spaniards, Germans, and Frenchmen, and soon ceased to be important centres of trade. Meanwhile, the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) devastated large parts of Germany. France had scarcely had time to recover from her own religious wars when she became involved in this; and although she suffered less than her neighbours, her energies were directed into military rather than commercial directions. Spain and Portugal had overstrained themselves in the sixteenth century, and had enfeebled the character of their people by religious despotism and persecution.

The Dutch
Supremacy
in
Commerce.

England, too, was engaged in a civil war, but this was a far less calamity than those under which Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and France had suffered. It proved but a temporary interruption to the steady growth of English trade; and when it ended in the triumph of the Puritan saints, England was

in a condition to enter on that keen struggle with Holland which resulted in our country reaching the foremost place in the world's commerce.

English
Rivalry
with the
Dutch.

At first the English merchants were at a considerable disadvantage. The Dutch had not only secured many positions of advantage, but they had accumulated vast capital, especially in a loanable form, so that their merchants could borrow money at half the rate of interest that Englishmen had to pay. The Dutch were also considerably in advance of our own countrymen in commercial methods. The banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, founded respectively in 1609 and 1635, had established a mechanism of credit and exchange, compared with which England had little to show; and in the middle of the seventeenth century our merchants and statesmen were as intent on copying Dutch methods of finance, as on directly competing with them in trade, in all parts of the world.

The
Navigation
Act, 1651.

The first overt blow aimed by our Government directly at the supremacy of Holland was the Navigation Act of 1651. Cromwell was not yet at the head of the Government, but it is worth noticing that the commercial policy of Stuart kings, Puritan Parliaments, and military dictator was in principle almost identical. The Navigation Act of 1651 was based on the same ideas which found expression in the earlier and later Acts which we call by the same name. Almost all English statesmen in the seventeenth century attached a special importance to the carrying trade, because they felt that it was not only a source of wealth, but also a source of power. An extension of our merchant shipping meant also an extended school of seamanship, and an increase of our naval reserves, both in men and ships. The Act of 1651 forbade the carrying of our exports and imports to or from any part of Asia, Africa, or America, except in ships that belonged either to Englishmen or to the nation with which the trade was being done; and the English ships must be manned by Englishmen. Similar restrictions were imposed on many branches of the Mediterranean trade, while all importation from the Dutch fisheries was forbidden. Economically the Act was undoubtedly injurious, at least in its immediate results. It led to a rise in the prices of foreign goods against

1660]

the English consumer, and to a decrease in the trade between England and several of her colonies. Moreover, it greatly enraged the Dutch, and was the leading cause of the war of 1652 (p. 368). But the Act undoubtedly succeeded in its attempt to transfer much of the carrying trade from Holland to England; and it probably tended to strengthen the connection between the mother country and her plantations.

These plantations had been steadily growing in number and importance.¹ The Pilgrim Fathers had settled at Plymouth in 1620 (p. 83 *seq.*), and had organised a Commonwealth of their own, hardly, if at all, connected with the home Government. Other Puritan settlements followed, amongst which the chief were Massachusetts (1628) and Connecticut (1633). The Rhode Island settlement was established in 1636 by Roger Williams, who had found that ordinary Puritanism did not allow him the religious liberty which he had fled from England to secure. Four colonies federated themselves in 1643 into the "United Colonies of New England." These Puritan settlements maintained a very rigorous and intolerant moral and religious discipline. The settlers treated the natives far more brutally than their predecessors had done. They seem, in fact, to have regarded themselves as a chosen people, entitled to treat the heathen almost as the Jews treated the Canaanites; and the Home Government showed an almost equal callousness, exporting Irish men and women as slaves to the West Indies. But while condemning their brutality, we must acknowledge that the stern, hard-working, thrifty Puritans, imbued with the traditions of middle-class Englishmen, proved very efficient colonists.

The
American
Colonies.

Meanwhile a Roman Catholic had founded Maryland as a refuge for his co-religionists in 1632 (p. 86); and Rupert's Land was, as its name implies, a Royalist colony. It was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company, which was formed in 1670, chiefly for importing furs and skins obtained by barter with North American Indians. The older American plantations mostly sympathised with the king in the Civil Wars, so much so that, in 1650, the Puritans had to send an armed force to subdue them.

[¹ The conquest of New Amsterdam, founded as a trading port in 1621 under the Dutch West India Company, was contemplated by Cromwell, but temporarily averted by the peace of 1654.]

Colonial
Develop-
ment.

The conquest of Jamaica (1655; p. 364) was the chief addition made to our dominions by actual war under the Commonwealth. It had not hitherto been regarded as a very important place,



CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK IN 1666.

(From Speed's Atlas.)

but Cromwell appreciated its resources, and developed them with great energy and success. Sugar planting was now becoming a most prosperous industry, and had created an

1660]

important trade between our plantations and both London and Bristol. It is worthy of notice that England had, from the first, taken a much less narrow view than Spain and Portugal of the value of colonies. The latter had devoted themselves almost exclusively to the search for precious metals; but English statesmen, though they shared in this exaggerated estimate of the importance of silver and gold, were wise enough to see that these were by no means the only products by which both the settlers and the mother country could be enriched. Accordingly they had set themselves to establish various industries, and though the growth of these was often hampered by the jealousy of merchants and manufacturers at home, the Government and public opinion sustained the colonists in many of their enterprises, and sometimes even legislated in their favour. Thus the chief product of Virginia was "protected" by the prohibition of English and Irish tobacco growing.

The development of English commerce was, no doubt, assisted by the Jewish immigration. The permission to return given by Cromwell to this long-banished race¹ (Vol. II., p. 164) may probably be connected with the general Judaic spirit of the Puritans. Oliver Cromwell himself said, "Great is my sympathy with this poor people whom God chose, and to whom He gave the law": and it was probably a similar sympathy which prevented any serious opposition to their readmission into England. Some London merchants, indeed, protested, but they were moved more by commercial jealousy than by religious intolerance. The Hebrew immigration at this time consisted almost entirely of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who had been driven from the lands of their adoption by the persecution of the Inquisition. Their estates had in many cases been confiscated, but they were on the whole, nevertheless, a wealthy body. Most of them had, in the first instance, settled in Holland or in Italy; and in these countries they had had ample opportunities of learning the newest and most

The Re-
turn of
the Jews.

¹ The fact that a few Jews are known to have lived in England during the three hundred and sixty-five years between the formal expulsion of the race (1290) under Edward I. and their formal readmission under Cromwell (1655) has little bearing on our present subject, as they do not seem to have taken any prominent part in commerce.

perfect methods of conducting international trade, and of giving and receiving credit. Many of them, in fact, came directly from Amsterdam, which was by this time the commercial capital of Holland.

Manasseh.

Manasseh Ben Israel was one of those Peninsular Jews who had settled in Amsterdam. He had distinguished himself as a teacher and as a student, but the confiscation of his paternal estates had driven him to abandon the pursuit of



MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

(From an engraving by Rembrandt.)

learning in favour of the career of a merchant and watch-maker. He then came over to England to intercede for the re-admission of his co-religionists into the country. In his interview with Cromwell and the Privy Council, he laid great stress on the increase in English exports and imports which the settlement of Jews in London would probably produce. He explained the importance of the exchange and banking transactions they were now carrying on from Holland, and

showed that the large capital committed to their care by Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who thus hoped to save it from the Inquisition, enabled them to lend out money at what was then considered the extraordinarily low rate of 5 per cent. These arguments must have been specially appreciated in a country whose merchants were at once envious of the low rate at which their Dutch rivals could borrow, and desirous of extending their trade into all parts of the world. The Privy Council was divided on the subject, but the judges decided that the law did not prohibit Jews from living in England, and Cromwell then gave the required permission on his own authority. It was at once taken advantage of by a number of well-to-do merchants, and these were soon followed by poorer Jews from Holland and Poland. The first settlers do not seem to have accorded so friendly a welcome to their poorer brethren as the generally philanthropic character of the race might have led us to expect. Charles II. was appealed to, on his restoration, to reverse the policy of Cromwell, but the "merry monarch" was too shrewd not to see that the presence of the Jews in England was stimulating English commerce. Moreover, he had himself during his exile borrowed largely from Dutch Jews, and he not only continued to tolerate their presence, but allowed them to open a synagogue in London in 1662.

In the taxes imposed by Parliament to defray the expenses of the Civil War we have the germs of the modern fiscal system, though the methods of assessment and collection were very unlike our own. Parliament settled what sum it required month by month, and how much of this was to be paid by each county or town (named in the ordinance). The further assessment of individuals within each town or county, and also the collection of the tax, was left to the local authorities; and this system undoubtedly led to a far more equitable distribution of the burden than had been obtained under the old haphazard system. Of indirect taxes, the tonnage and poundage were extended in 1656, especially by an increase in the duties on wines produced by the hated Spaniards. But, in addition, to the customs duties, a new impost—the excise—was introduced by the Puritan Parliament. This device was borrowed (like so many other commercial and financial schemes)

Puritan
Finance.

from the Dutch. Pym introduced it in 1643. It was originally confined to strong drinks; in fact, the object of it was partly to diminish drunkenness, which seems to have been stimulated by the way in which Puritanism discouraged other amusements. Parliament, however, was in urgent need of money, and in 1644 meat, victuals, salt, alum, hats, starch, silks, and many other articles were added to the list. The excise was intended to be a temporary measure for meeting the expenses of the war, but it was renewed again and again. In 1647 meat and salt were struck out of the excise, no doubt because they were regarded as necessities of life; but, having conceded

this, Parliament felt that the excise was a convenient and equitable method of raising revenue, and we shall see that the Restoration Government adopted the same policy.

A few words may here be introduced as to the distribution of the national wealth among the different English counties in the seventeenth century. It so happens that between the years 1636 and 1693 we



A DEBTORS' PRISON.

(From a Broadside of 1644.)

Distribu-
tion of
Wealth in
England,
1636-1693.

have no less than seven distinct assessments of counties for fiscal purposes. From these we can judge of their relative wealth, and of their alternations in prosperity. Middlesex, including London, is far at the head of each list. Thus, in the ship-money valuation of 1636, every eight acres pay £1, whilst in Hertfordshire, the next richest county (in proportion in size), the proportion is ninety-seven acres to £1. Hertfordshire sinks from the second place in 1636 to the fifth in 1641, 1649, and 1660, but rises again to the fourth place in 1672, and the third in 1693. Bedfordshire is the third in 1636, twelfth in 1641, third again in 1660, and fifth in 1693. Buckinghamshire fluctuates almost in the same way. Surrey rises from the eighteenth place in 1636 to second in 1693. Northamptonshire

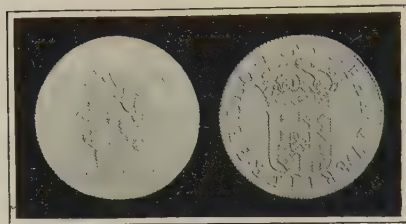
sinks in the same time from the fifth to the eleventh place. Berkshire stands sixth in both 1636 and 1693. These seven counties may, therefore, be regarded as the wealthiest in England in the seventeenth century. If we exclude Middlesex, we find the other six form (with Oxfordshire) an almost compact agricultural district lying north of the Thames. Oxfordshire had, for some reason, declined. It had stood second in 1503, and was seventh in 1693, but in 1636 it had sunk as low as seventeenth. Turning to the other end of the scale, we find Cumberland the poorest county in all the seven assessments. Durham, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancashire are the next poorest, but their relative positions fluctuate. Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire come in turns in the next lowest place. Thus the eight poorest counties include the six north of the Humber and the Mersey, and two of the next most northerly counties. On the whole, we find that if we divide England into large districts, that the central counties are richest and the northern poorest. The east and south of England are somewhat richer than the west.

THE necessities of Charles I. led to innumerable issues of money in various parts of England. A complete list of these is impossible, but coins from Aberystwith, Carlisle, Chester, Colchester, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Exeter, Newark, Oxford, Pontefract, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and York have been identified. There remains, however, a considerable number of unknown provenance. Many coins were made in castles and towns held for the king for the use of the troops on the sole authority of the governors for the time being, and some are believed to have been thus issued after the execution at Whitehall. Most of these, commonly known as siege pieces, are of poor workmanship, and some of extraordinary rudeness.

During the same period the Parliament is supposed temporarily to have coined money in the king's mint, but, as it came from the king's dies, it is not certainly identifiable. This went on till the execution of Charles, after which the Commonwealth took the coinage regularly in hand. New dies were ordered from the excellent artist Thomas Simon, and his designs were accepted. These coins have the St. George's Cross on one side,

R. HUGHES
Civil War
Coinage.

with a palm and laurel branch, with the legend, "the Commonwealth of England," and on the other the same cross in a shield leaning against another shield bearing the Irish harp, and the

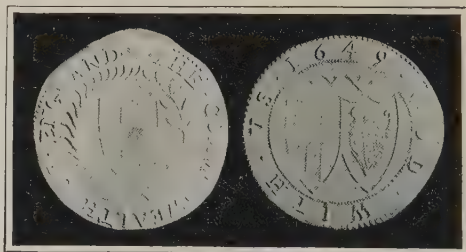


"BROAD" OF THE PROTECTORATE.

(Three-quarter scale.)

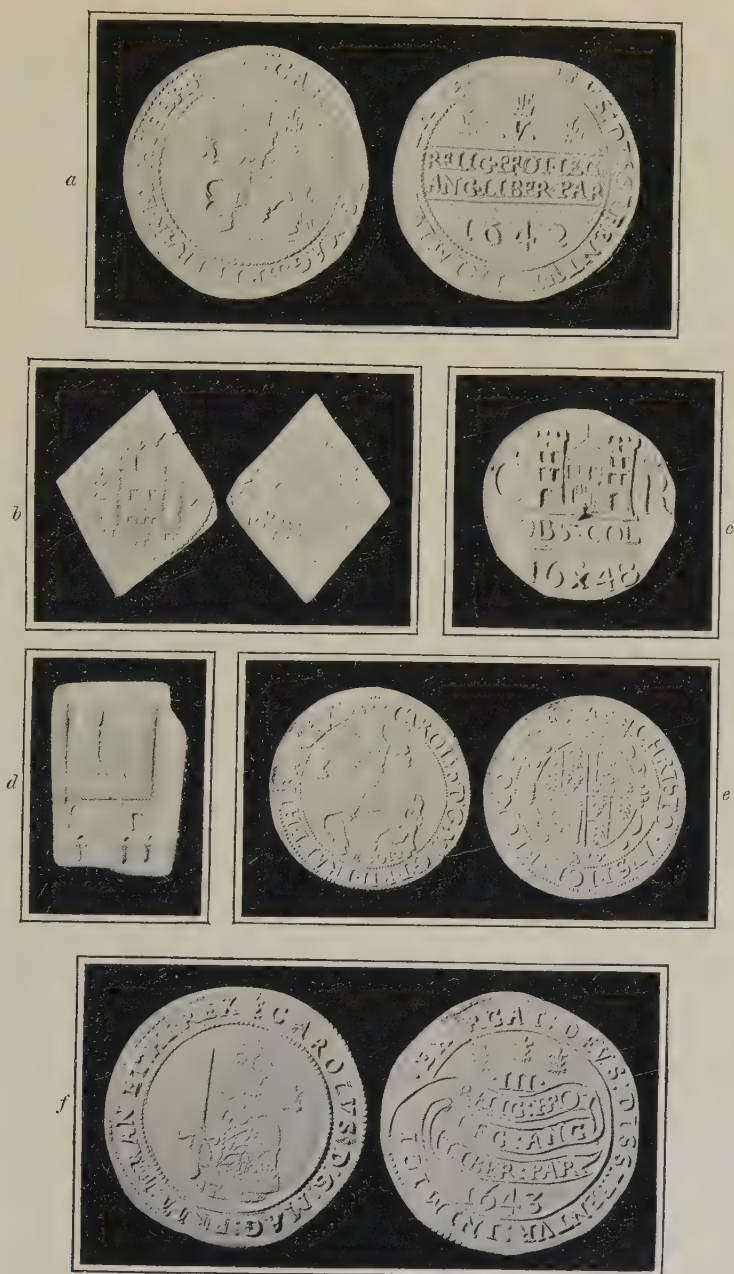
legend "God with us." The design gave rise to various Cavalier jokes about "God" and "the Commonwealth" being on different sides, while the double shield was entitled "the breeches of the Rump." The gold coins issued were the unite, the double crown, and the Britain crown. In silver

there were issued crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, half-groats, pennies, and halfpence, these last being without date or mint mark. On the 23rd of February, 1657, a proposal was made in Parliament to offer Oliver Cromwell the title of king, and in anticipation of his assumption of that style some twenty-shilling pieces, or, at least, patterns of these, were prepared. They have Cromwell's head on one side, and on the other a crowned shield of arms. The legend on the obverse is "Olivar D.G.R.P., Ang. Sco. et Hib." The Commonwealth's effort was not, however, confined to the improvement of the design. They tried to introduce the improved process of the mill-and-screw, as worked by Blondeau. They invited him to England, and made an attempt to instal him at the mint, but the jealousy of the native moneyers frustrated the efforts. It should be mentioned that the Protector's coins, which are of considerable beauty, like those of the Commonwealth designed by Simon, never seem to have become the common money of the kingdom. At least, this seems the natural inference from their rarity, and from the fact that what remain are in too excellent



20s. PIECE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

(Three-quarter scale.)



COINS OF CHARLES I. (CIVIL WAR PERIOD)
 (Three-quarter scale.)

preservation to have been circulated. Moreover, when early in Charles II.'s reign, the Commonwealth coins were denounced, Oliver's are not mentioned, an omission hardly explicable if they had been in general circulation. It is noteworthy that under the Commonwealth a colonial currency was attempted. Silver was coined in New England, and Lord Baltimore, as Lord Proprietor of Maryland, struck silver and copper, with his name and titles.

T. WHIT-
TAKER.
Philosophy.

A STRUGGLE like that of the Civil Wars gives at once the occasion and the opportunity for political speculation. The practical questions in dispute suggest an appeal to principles as a means of solving them; and those who have already thought out a political theory see the chance of getting it realised in action.

Hobbes's
Political
Treatises.

Hobbes's political system very well illustrates this interaction between practice on the one side and the ideas of a philosophical thinker on the other. It was essentially a doctrine worked out philosophically from a certain view of human nature; but in time of publication and in the special form it took, it was determined by the practical struggle going on around. In 1628, when Hobbes published his translation of Thucydides, his general political bias was already fixed; but the earliest independent expression of his own doctrine was in 1640, when he circulated in manuscript his treatise on "The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic." This treatise was afterwards divided into two parts, which were published separately in 1650, under the titles of "Human Nature," and "De Corpore Politico." Hobbes's earliest published political work was the "De Cive" (1642). This is a systematic treatise in Latin, the earlier treatise being in English. In general political doctrine there is little difference between the "De Corpore Politico" and the "De Cive," but Hobbes's position with regard to the ecclesiastical power is more developed in the latter work. The "Leviathan," in which Hobbes's political philosophy received its most elaborate expression, was published in 1651.

Hobbes's political system is based, as has been said, on his view of human nature. Men are by nature, according to Hobbes, in a state of war—that is, of anarchy, being impelled by their



TITLE-PAGE TO HOBBS'S "LEVIATHAN."

egoistic impulses to contend against each other for all kinds of advantages. To the natural reason of men the advantage there would be to each if certain rules of justice were observed is, indeed, evident; but it is also evident that these can only be observed in a state of peace. The dictate of natural reason accordingly is to escape from the state of war and establish articles of peace. This can only be done by the institution of a Commonwealth or body politic, having a sovereign power entitled to exercise coercive authority over its members. To this sovereign power men give up their natural rights of self-defence in return for protection. They thus contract with one another to obey the sovereign power. This may be either one man, or a few, or the whole people assembled at stated times, the form of government being called monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy as the case may be. The sovereign power in the Commonwealth, wherever it may be situated, is absolute. The dictate at once of natural law and of self-interest is that the sovereign should aim at the safety and good government of the people; under the term "safety" being understood all that distinguishes civilised life from the savagery of the state of nature. Of the possible forms of government, monarchy, according to Hobbes, is to be preferred as being the most efficient in action, the most constant, and, on the whole, the most just. His theory, however, he maintains, is applicable to all forms of government.

The sovereign power in the State, being incapable of limitation, is supreme in religious as in civil matters. There is no right in any corporation of ecclesiastics to set up a "spiritual power" independent of the State. It is the duty of the sovereign power in the State to determine what the religion of the Commonwealth shall be. An ecclesiastical power must not be allowed to rise up to disturb the civil obedience that is necessary for social welfare. The thought of the individual subject is free, since mental assent cannot be commanded. What the sovereign can exact is only outward conformity. This ought always to be given, positively if possible, but in any case negatively—that is, up to the point of abstinence from resistance.

Filmer.

With Hobbes's political doctrine may be compared and contrasted that of Sir Robert Filmer, who published "Observations upon Mr. Hobbes's '*Leviathan*,'" in 1652. The "*Patriarcha*," his systematic treatise, to which Locke afterwards replied, was

1660]

not published till 1680, after the author's death. Filmer agrees with Hobbes that the sovereign power is absolute, but contests his view of the basis of sovereign rights. According to Filmer, the rights of the sovereign are in no sense to be derived from a grant of the people. There is always some person who is, by right of hereditary descent, the ruler of the community. The right of the monarch is derived from the right divinely conferred on Adam, the first patriarch, and is at once absolute and inalienable. It can only be limited by the monarch himself, and every limitation is valid only so long as by his sovereign will he continues to allow it. The difference of Hobbes's political doctrine from Filmer's is obvious; and, in fact, the hostility to Hobbes came not least from the "divine right" Royalists.

Among the Republican speculations of the period is Harrington's "*Oceana*" (1656). It was seized when passing through the press. Afterwards the copy was restored to the author, and finally it was dedicated to Cromwell. According to Harrington's scheme, the determining element of political power is to be property, especially in land. There is to be an agrarian law limiting the amount of landed property to be held by any particular person. A third part of the executive is to be voted out by ballot every three years, and is not to be capable of being re-elected for three years; a characteristic aim of Harrington's system being to prevent the executive power from remaining long in the same hands. Harrington, though urging objections against the doctrine of "*Leviathan*," expresses great admiration for Hobbes, and proclaims himself a follower of the "new lights" of his philosophical treatises

Harrington.

Milton's part in the controversies of the time is dealt with elsewhere (p. 399), but reference can scarcely be omitted under the present head. Though he appeals to theological authority on occasion, as well as to Biblical precedent, Milton's doctrine was essentially political republicanism of the classical type. It is not less incompatible with the theocratic ideal of the Presbyterians than with the Church and State doctrine of Anglican divines.

Milton.

The earliest English philosopher of the period is Edward Herbert (1582-1633), created Baron Herbert of Cherbury in 1633. He is generally regarded as the founder of English

Meta-physics.

Lord
Herbert of
Cherbury.

Deism. In pure philosophy he is a precursor of the "common-sense school." The two sides of his thought are not unconnected. Knowledge is explained by him as due to conformity between mental faculty and object of thought. The possibility of knowledge depends on the possession by the human mind of certain "common notions," which are innate and not derived from experience. In his actual investigation of these he deals almost exclusively with the question of religious truth. The essential principles of religion are attainable by the "common notions," and are, according to Herbert: (1) that there is a Supreme Being; (2) that this Deity ought to be worshipped; (3) that virtue combined with piety is the chief part of divine worship; (4) that men should repent of their sins and turn from them; (5) that reward and punishment follow from the goodness and justice of God, both in this life and after it. These articles formed the primitive religion before the people "gave ear to the covetous and crafty sacerdotal order." Herbert's principal work, "*De Veritate*" (Paris, 1624), has been translated into French, but never into English. This contains his general philosophy. The "*De Religione Gentilium*" (London, 1645) is an essay towards a theory of comparative religion. Beneath all religions Herbert finds that the five great articles are recognised. Polytheism is a corruption of the pure primitive religion, and was elaborated by priests.

Hobbes's
Philo-
sophical
System.

Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (1588-1679) was a friend as well as a contemporary of Herbert. He was also personally acquainted with Bacon. From neither of these philosophers, however, did he derive his own philosophic impulse. Herbert is a representative of the opposite type of philosophic thinking, Hobbes deriving knowledge from experience, not from *a priori* principles. With Bacon it was the custom of historians till lately to connect him; both being representatives of the English "empirical" school; but, according to recent authorities, no influence can be traced from Bacon on Hobbes's method. Hobbes was thus not a disciple of Bacon; just as Locke was not a disciple of Hobbes. Bacon and Hobbes both made an independent start in philosophy; and Locke got his impulse not from Hobbes, but from Descartes. With Herbert, Hobbes had in common religious rationalism, though not general philosophic principles. In the third book of "*Leviathan*," entitled "Of a

Christian Commonwealth," Biblical documents are submitted to a scrutiny tending to show the composite character and the late origin of many of them. And, in seeking to determine what shall be the religion of the State, Hobbes aims at a reduction of dogmas to the fewest and simplest possible. To these only will a wise sovereign require assent. Such a simplified Christian religion, according to Hobbes, is sufficient—a conclusion evidently very like Herbert's, though arrived at by a different way.

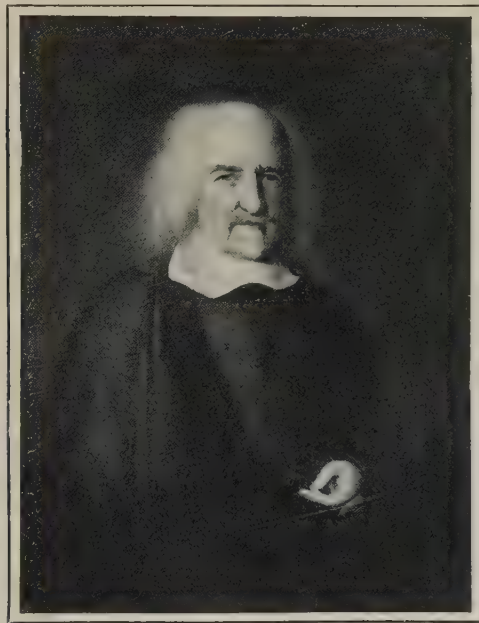


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

THOMAS HOBBS, BY JOHN MICHAEL WRIGHT

(National Portrait Gallery.)

Hobbes's political doctrine (already sketched out) is conceived by him as the culminating part of a system of philosophy. After a number of abstract logical, geometrical, and mechanical considerations, he purposed to deal first with Body, which, in his philosophical system, is the true reality; then with Man as an individual organism, and with his mental powers; lastly, with Political Society or Commonwealth, "that great Leviathan—or rather, to speak more reverently, that mortal god—to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defence." This

was the plan of the series of systematic treatises which he projected. They were to be in all three, and were to treat of "Body," of "Man," and of "The Citizen." The work "*De Cive*," which appeared in 1642, has been already mentioned. The "*De Corpore*" appeared in 1655, the "*De Homine*" in 1658. Hobbes's systematic plan had been interrupted by the treatises he had written with a direct view to the political crisis. These last, especially the "*Leviathan*," form his greatest and most distinctive work. His construction of a complete system of philosophy has been less influential historically; yet this also is a very distinctive achievement in English thought, and, if it did not influence, yet anticipated the direction of "scientific philosophy," both English and Continental, during the nineteenth century.

Hobbes's
Method.

Hobbes's starting-point for philosophy in general was from the scientific discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Harvey. These furnished him with his mechanical conception of nature. With his naturalism, carried out to philosophic completeness, he seeks to connect his doctrines of man and society. These last, however, he regards as capable of independent proof by direct psychological observation and deduction; in fact, it was by this method that he had arrived at them, and not by direct deduction from mechanical principles. His acquaintance with the "mechanical philosophy" came late in life. It was not till some time between 1629 and 1631 that he first looked into Euclid. The result was an enthusiasm for the geometrical method of demonstration. Through the stimulus of the scientific circles he frequented on the Continent he became more and more impressed with the idea of explaining all from mechanical causes and by mathematical demonstration, and thus was led to conceive the ambition of constructing a system of philosophy complete from base to summit. Philosophy, with Hobbes, included special science, as with the older philosophers. His object was to get correct principles as regards the whole, and then to work out the details from these. Though taking experience for the source of all knowledge, Hobbes had not the notion of physical science as a pursuit capable of advancement through the work of specialists who ignore philosophical considerations. His view was that the men of science—as, for example, the founders of the Royal Society—would

1660]

go wrong if they did not begin with settled philosophical principles. Experience, of course, has not confirmed this view. Science and philosophy have had to become separate pursuits. Neither Hobbes's treatise, "*De Corpore*," nor Descartes' "*Principia*" has been able to maintain itself as a synthesis of physical principles.

Apart from political theory, it is in psychology that Hobbes's actual achievement is greatest. His view of human nature is, indeed, incomplete, but within his range no one has done more finished work. Two questions dealt with by him may be selected for special mention—the question of nominalism, or the relation between speech and thought, and the question of the liberty or necessity of human volitions.

Hobbes may be regarded as the father of modern nominalism. The modern question of nominalism differs from that which was agitated in the medieval schools. Medieval nominalism was a doctrine as to the nature of reality (Vol. I., p. 484). Are all real existences individual, or do we, in generalising, make propositions about real "universals" corresponding to class-names as individuals correspond to proper names? Does a real "humanity," for example, exist in or apart from individual men, or is humanity simply a name by which we indicate that men resemble one another in certain respects? According to the medieval nominalists, generalising is simply a mental process in which, by means of a name, we bring together the individual members of a class. All the reality there is in the case outside the generalising mind is the sum of individuals. The question taken up by modern nominalism is not metaphysical or logical, but psychological. What is the precise nature of the mental process involved in thinking? According to Hobbes, since thought has its beginning in sense, the means of going beyond sense must be furnished by sense itself. A word is a particular sensible sign that comes to stand for other objects of sense. By means of it, we maintain constancy in our minds amid the fluctuations of sense and imagination. A word is a sign that calls up at will ideas like those we have had before. It is also a means of communication; the same sound, when it is agreed on, serving to call up like ideas in different men's minds. Having constituted language, men can proceed to reason about the things to which names have been given, and

Hobbes
and Nom-
inalism.

thus can attain to general truths such as sense by itself, without the means that language furnishes, cannot give.

Hobbes
and Free
Will.

Hobbes is not only the first of modern nominalists, but also the first of modern psychological determinists. On psychological grounds, he rejects the doctrine of an undetermined free will. Given the same mental causes in the process of deliberating, the same effect in the act of volition must always result. The proper meaning of "liberty" is the power to do what we will if there is no external obstacle. Liberty in this sense involves no power to will otherwise than as psychological antecedents determine. Hobbes's position on this subject is most fully stated in his "Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance" (1656), a reply to Bishop Bramhall, with whom he had become involved in controversy.

T. WHIT-
TAKER.
Natural
Science:
The Royal
Society.

THE great event in the scientific history of this period is the formation of what was afterwards to become the Royal Society. In its first beginnings, about 1645, it was known as the "Invisible College." Before the Restoration it met sometimes in London, sometimes in Oxford, at length taking up its quarters at Gresham College. In 1661 the king offered to become one of the society. A charter of incorporation was granted in 1662. The records of the society begin on November 28th, 1660. Its aim is from that time marked out as the promoting of "Physico-Mathematical Experimental Learning."

Among the chief founders of the society were John Wilkins (afterwards Bishop of Chester), John Wallis, Seth Ward (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), Christopher Wren, and Robert Boyle. Both Ward and Wallis are names of note in mathematics. Wallis was also a grammarian and a logician, though his mathematical celebrity is greatest. His "Arithmetica Infinitorum" (1665) contains the idea of the integral calculus. This idea appears as an application of Cavalieri's "Geometry of Indivisibles" (1635), and helps to prepare the way for Newton. Wilkins (born in 1614) had already published works tending to diffuse the Copernican astronomy.

Another of those who took an active part in the proceedings of the society was Sir Kenelm Digby (p. 139), who, however, was mostly out of England during the preparatory

period. His career was one of the most adventurous of the time. With a strong interest in physics, he had a taste also for pursuits such as the invention of new cosmetics (to preserve his wife's beauty), of a "sympathetic powder" for the cure of wounds at a distance, etc.

One famous scientific controversy of the time must be



THE GATEWAY, WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

chronicled. Hobbes, in his ardour for mathematical study, had attempted to solve some of its traditional *crucis*, such as the squaring of the circle. This gave an opening to mathematicians like Ward and Wallis, by assailing his science, to weaken his philosophic authority—an end which on other grounds they desired. The controversy began in 1654, when Ward incidentally made a reply to some of Hobbes's attacks on

Hobbes
and
Wallis.

universities. Universities, Ward said, were no longer what they were in Hobbes's youth, and Hobbes's own geometry, when it should appear, would be better understood than he liked. When the "*De Corpore*" came out in 1655, a chapter devoted to mathematical problems served as the point of attack. Wallis now published his "*Elenchus Geometriae Hobbianaë*." Replies and rejoinders followed. A new dispute, on the duplication of the cube, began in 1661. Though in this controversy, so far as it was mathematical, Wallis was able to dispose of everything that Hobbes could urge, it did not end altogether with advantage to himself. Some charges he made against Hobbes's political conduct were refuted with effect, and retorted against himself in such a manner as to silence him for a time. Hobbes afterwards (in 1666) resumed the controversy, which did not cease till his death.

W. H.
HUTTON.
Religious
Literature.

THE period of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth was rich in works of religious interest. While the fight was still raging, there were many who could think more of spiritual than of carnal warfare. The gentle recluses of Little Gidding (p. 46) lived on in their common life till late in the contest. Bunyan (p. 406) grew up full of burning thoughts, yet strangely oblivious of the strife around him. His career at this time is a remarkable illustration of the life of religious men in the country districts. Himself thoroughly opposed to the teaching of the Church, and with his whole soul full of religious interests, he has left scarcely the smallest clue to his opinion on the political crisis. He fought in the war, but it is clear that he took very little interest in the cause, so lightly did the gravest political questions affect him. Religion would not induce such men as he was to stand out against a restoration of the monarchy.

"*Eikon
Basilike*."

The most important in its influence of all the books brought out during the period of the Church's proscription was unquestionably the "*Eikon Basilike*," a "portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his sufferings." Probably the work of Dr. Gauden, one of Charles's chaplains, it expressed with extraordinary fidelity, and at the same time idealised with masterly art, the feelings that had moved the king when his conscience spoke most clearly. The love of his people and the love of God, the

steadfast determination not to impair his own prerogative or imperil the fabric of the Church, personal abasement and moral grandeur, these were interwoven with rare delicacy and insight. No book had ever been so popular. It was impossible to suppress it: equally impossible to answer it. Forty-seven editions of it were soon exhausted; and if it contained arguments for kingship, it contained ten times as many indirectly for Anglic-



KING CHARLES THE MARTYR.

* (From "Eikon Basilike.")

anism and the system of Laud. The horror and pity which it evoked made Charles a saint and Laud a martyr, and enlisted all the sentiment of the age on the side of the monarchy and the Church.

Milton alone could reply to it, and his "Eikonoklastes" was but a poor answer. It was of no use to retort point by point against the piteous meditations of the imprisoned king; pathos is not answered by invective, and the vulgar railing of the great poet was forgotten, as it deserved to be. It was a poor

**Milton's
Reply.**

case which sought defence in an attack on the dead king for adapting to his own use a prayer out of Sidney's "Arcadia," yet Milton, in his reply to the Dutch Salmasius, whose "Defensio regia pro Carolo I." was an evidence of the attitude of the learned throughout Europe, could not refrain from using that unworthy weapon. "He certainly," wrote the poet, "whose mind could serve him to seek a Christian prayer out of a Pagan legend and assume it for his own, might gather up the rest God knows whence." The controversy with Salmasius, which grew up naturally from the extraordinary popularity of the "Eikon Basilike," was the occasion of the best literary defence which the Commonwealth received. "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano" was the plea which Milton put forth after months of strenuous work in the cause of duty, and at the cost of his eyes. In this book he tracked his opponent through the Bible and the classics, Rabbinical literature and medieval theology, chapter by chapter, till he had met him, as he conceived, on every point. The "Defence" is not wanting in powerful expression, as indeed, being Milton's, it could hardly be; but it bears on the face of it the obvious signs of a work written to order. It has no complete study of government or scheme of political philosophy. It is a robust, but not profound or convincing, answer to a powerful attack. Politics were merged in personalities, and most men must needs admit that it was an ill cause that was driven to accuse Charles I. of poisoning his father, and to twit Salmasius with being governed by his wife.

Chillingworth.

At such a troubled time literature could not thrive. Men for the most part read, and republished, the writings of the previous decades. Laud's sermons were issued when his opinions were proscribed, and the lessons of Chillingworth were sinking into men's minds, even when Puritanism was sternest in condemning his opinions. "The Religion of Protestants" had been published in 1637 (p. 135), and for the next ten years it did not cease to excite constant, and often angry, comment. Its author, who died in 1644, was Laud's godson, and had been at one time his constant correspondent from Oxford. He was a friend of the "ever memorable John Hales," of Gilbert Sheldon, and of the exquisite Lucius Carey, who was at home among theologians like those who gathered round him at Great Tew, from the neighbouring university, no less than with wits like Ben

1660]

Jonson and Suckling. In the literary and critical Oxford of his day, Chillingworth's unsettled opinions not unnaturally led him by reaction to Rome, and then, after a year at Douay, back again into the English Church, as the most tolerant expression of those truths of Christianity which still seemed to him to be essential. But he never ceased to be an independent thinker, and as such he was made at home in the English Church by Laud and his followers. His great book was a strong plea for liberty. While it made a strong protest against the all-embracing dogmatism of Rome, and accepted the "religion of Protestants" as exemplified in the English Church as a "safe way of salvation," it was content to accept the guidance of a free and rational inquiry, which, though it might lead to some errors, was strong in the sanction of intellectual honesty, and the absence of exclusive and narrowing definitions. It was the work of an academic thinker not very intimately in touch with the problems of life, but it had that force of initiation which belongs not infrequently to scholastic speculation. Its free and rational appeal gave a new basis to Anglicanism, and started philosophic inquiry on a fruitful quest. Chillingworth, the friend of Laud and Falkland, was yet the forerunner of eighteenth-century philosophers, who followed his principles into far wider regions of thought. His career affords a characteristic example of the attitude of the religious parties of the day. To the Romanists, of course, he was little better than an apostate and an infidel, for he could not accept the wide claims which they made for their teaching as fundamental. To the Anglicans he was acceptable because he believed that "the doctrine of the Church of England is pure and orthodox, and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any



WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.
(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it." To the Puritan he was intolerable.

Archbishop
Ussher.

It was natural in such a time of strife that theology should share also in the contentions of the day. Thus writers, not themselves polemical in the cast of their thoughts, turned at times into warfare with intellectual foes. Such were Ussher, the scholar; Fuller, the humorist and antiquary; and Jeremy Taylor, the master of a characteristic and beautiful English style. James Ussher, born in 1580 at Dublin, was a controversialist from his youth. Commended to the king by his studies in Church History, by his Calvinism, and by his preparation of the Irish Articles, which were, with but little alteration, those Lambeth Articles of Archbishop Whitgift which the Church of England had never accepted, in 1620 he became Bishop of Meath, in 1624 Archbishop of Armagh. Afterwards, when he was driven thence by the Irish rebellion, Charles gave him the bishopric of Carlisle. He was bitterly opposed to a toleration of the Romanists, but he took a scholar's interest in the past history of the Irish Church. He also assisted Laud in his endeavours to procure reasonable subsistence for the Irish clergy. As a scholar he was famous for his studies in the languages of the East. He was strongly opposed to the Arminianism of Laud and his followers, but he was a convinced king's man. His treatise on "The Power of the Prince and Obedience of the Subject" was clear in its inculcation, within reasonable limits, of the doctrine of passive obedience. His honesty and simplicity made him trusted by men of all parties. Charles sought his advice at that crisis of his own life, the question of Strafford's condemnation, though he did not accept his honourable protest against the sentence, and, later on, summoned him to his assistance in the negotiations connected with the Treaty of Newport. His scheme for a moderated Episcopacy, by which the bishops were to be restricted to their spiritual powers, and to act in other matters under the advice of synods, was long discussed; and it was thought that Cromwell at one time had sympathy with it. To Ussher the Protector promised to grant liberty of conscience to the clergy of the Church, a promise which he soon revoked. The good Archbishop died in 1656, four years before the Restoration which he had predicted. His mildness of disposition, and the faculty of seeing the defects of all parties which belongs

to the student, prevented his exercising the influence which his talents would have warranted. It is as a scholar that he is remembered, and it is in that that he is linked to the leaders of the Caroline Church. Men of both parties turned from the turmoil of war and of political change to talk of Ussher's manuscripts, of the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Syriac version, of the history of Episcopacy, and of the



THOMAS FULLER.

(By permission of the Right Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge.)

Ignatian letters. Literature, indeed, in him as in many others of the king's party, prevented the rift between the men of king and Parliament being very deep or lasting.

Thomas Fuller was a man of another mould. "A pleasant, facetious person" was he, "and a *bonus socius*," a scholar, certainly, and student, and as a parish priest beloved and respected, but most of all renowned as a humorist, as a quaint sayer of curious matters, and one who lightened the gravity of his subject by the smartness of his wit. Fuller was one of the

Thomas
Fuller.

many Englishmen of the day who could not wholly agree with either party, who detested what seemed to them the hypocrisy of Puritanism, but deplored the licence of the king's supporters; and, like many who thought with him, he chose the Royalist side when he had to make choice to whom he would adhere. But it is as a writer that he is chiefly remembered. In a "Pisgah Sight of Palestine" (1650) he contrived to discern the topography of the Holy Land with a vivacity and an acuteness which must have been a relief to the Puritan teachings among which his book had to make its way. The "Holy War" (the Crusades), the "Holy State," the "Worthies of Great Britain," are all books which his contemporaries read with delight, and which cannot lose their charm. He died in 1661, when the Restoration had given him promise of preferment, crying "for his pen and ink to the last." No man of his times was more witty or more popular for his wit. Edition after edition of his books was issued even during the days when it was dangerous to write of the Church's doings. No one could tell a story as he could, yet no one was so free from bitterness. His sharpness and, indeed, much of his humour too, lay upon the surface. He sought, and he achieved, the praise of being a moderate man, and, though he did not escape slander, he was secure in the affections of his readers. "No stationer ever lost by me," he said. He was, in fact, unquestionably the most popular of all the writers of his day. From him and such as he men learned that the Church was a larger home than Puritanism.

Jeremy
Taylor.

Next, perhaps, to Fuller, in the breadth of his appeal and his popularity, stood Jeremy Taylor, for whom Archbishop Laud procured a fellowship at All Souls'. He threw himself into the defence of the Church system, met assailants by treatises on Episcopacy, on extemporary prayer, by pleas for freedom of conscience and arguments on behalf of historic order and traditional liturgies. During the Interregnum he found refuge with Lord Conway in Ireland. At the Restoration he became Bishop of Down and Connor, and a little later of Dromore also. He was an exemplary bishop, as he had been a worthy priest. As a man of learning and a wit he stood among the first of his age: and his beauty and sweetness of disposition made him at least as much beloved as he was admired.

Few theologians have left more mark on English religion



TITLE-PAGE TO THOMAS FULLER'S "HOLY WARRE," 1639.

(Referring to the Crusades.)

than Jeremy Taylor. His sermons combine many of the merits of Andrewes and of William Law. They are extraordinarily fertile in conceit and in appropriate illustration, they are searching and intimate in their application, and removed from all possibility of dulness by their sparkling and abundant imagination. His controversial writings are less easy, but their style is vigorous. His "*Ductor Dubitantium*" is almost the only treatise on casuistry written by an English Churchman, and it has all

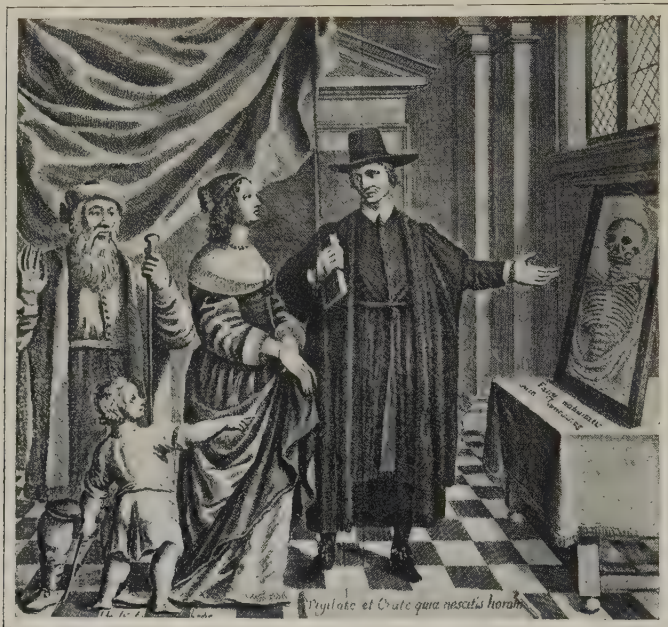


ILLUSTRATION TO JEREMY TAYLOR'S "HOLY DYING," 1651.

the honesty, and more than the skill, that might be expected. Books such as these belong to the armoury of the theologians, but the prayers of the "Golden Grove" and the admonitions of "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying" belong by right to every man that can appreciate either literature or religion. Certainly no religious works in English possess the same rare combination of merits, and none have more powerfully affected English life. The acute insight and the intimate knowledge of human nature which they show on every page are only equalled by the

marvellous imagination which illuminates the style as well as the matter. Of all English prose-writers, Jeremy Taylor is the richest. He takes his illustrations from the most recondite sources, and employs them in the most unexpected moments; and the effect is indescribably quaint and gorgeous. Could anyone have expected, when reading of the care of the beloved dead and of the grief of the surviving kin, to be met by the story of the "Ephesian woman that the soldier told of in Petronius"? And yet its appositeness overcomes the incongruity. He is as happy in speaking of marriage as of death; there are few more delightful studies than "The Marriage Ring."

Jeremy Taylor linked the school of Laud to the triumphant Church of the Restoration. Hammond, a writer whose beautiful soul shines through the solemn gravity of his style, died before King Charles had his own again. Sanderson, scholar and theologian, lived to rule wisely the great diocese of Lincoln. Men such as these appealed to the intelligence and respect of the whole nation; and by their side, from different origins and with very different bias, stood Bunyan and Baxter. It is not as a theologian that we admire the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress"; but for his power of telling a story, his imagination, and his simple faith there is no one to surpass him in English literature. Bunyan has not ceased for two centuries to be the classic of the people. The vigour and the truth of his delineations of character, great as they are, are as nothing compared to his extraordinary realism and power in narrative. A son of the people, he knew well how the people think, and he knew how to arouse their imagination, and stir their blood, and touch their heart.

Baxter, like Bunyan a nonconformist, was a man of another mould. Born of a family of decayed gentlefolk, his early experience of the immorality and neglect among the clergy led him to look upon Church principles from the first with no exaggerated fervour. Yet, in spite of practical difficulties, he remained for years a conformist, and ministered as a devoted servant of the English Church. He was a voracious reader and an acute critic; but he was, most of all, successful as a preacher and a parish priest. At Kidderminster, during the crisis of the Civil War, and at Coventry, he ministered with assiduous eagerness, and he had the firmness to maintain his opinions in the face

Richard
Baxter.

of both parties. He was of the Parliament side, but he could not reconcile himself to a republic. He opposed both the Covenant and the Engagement, and the abolition of bishops, yet he was much more of a Presbyterian than a Churchman. A strong Parliament man, after the Restoration, he refused a bishopric, and by his nonconformity laid himself open to the persecuting violence of the state laws. He was, in fact, so honest, so firm, and, it must be admitted, so narrow in his own opinions, that he could find no party in the state, and but few in religion, who would agree with or even tolerate them. In literature he was a master, but in practical life he was unfit for the rubs of

daily existence. Though Cromwell's theology was inadequate in his eyes, he was just as little willing as the great Protector to tolerate religious teaching beyond certain fixed limits. He, more than any single man, stood in the way of toleration of Roman Catholics at the Restoration. His political tracts were burnt by the University of Oxford with those of Buchanan and Milton, in the fervour of the Royalist reaction. The fierce persecuting ardour of the secular power, the squires and the lawyers who could never forgive the Com-



Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
RICHARD BAXTER.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

monwealth, broke over his head. He would not conform to the laws, and he was committed to prison by two justices of the peace. Eventually, in 1685, he came before Jeffreys. "I can deal with saints as well as sinners," cried the brutal judge. "There stands Oates on one side of the pillory, and if Baxter stood on the other the two greatest rogues in the kingdom would stand together." It was as a political danger that the state thought fit to suppress men of his stamp. "Richard," said Jeffreys, "thou art an old knave. Thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. By the grace of God I'll look after thee. . . . By the grace of God I will crush you all." The next year the Declaration of Indulgence released him from prison, and he lived to take advantage of the Toleration Act. He died at a ripe age in 1691.

Of the "cart-load" of books he wrote but one has remained in permanent remembrance, but that seems in no danger of being forgotten. "The Saints' Everlasting Rest" is a treasure of the "evangelical" party within and without the Church. Its deep piety, its clear and beautiful style, the dignity and enthusiasm and modernness of its language, have made it an English classic. Narrow as Baxter's system may seem, we feel that he is more tolerant than his creed, and at the root of all his stubborn individuality lies a true and tender conscience. If the Nonconformity of the Stuart age laid heavy burdens on men's shoulders, it suffered from the consequences of its actions. In its provision for men of religion it brought upon itself the severity of secular opinion. But it left two priceless gifts to English literature and English religion in the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Saints' Rest."

The
"Saints'
Rest."

THE purely literary literature of this division of time so much overlaps, and is so intimately intertwined with, that of the periods which immediately precede and follow it; and the theological, philosophical, and scientific literature to which separate dealing has been assigned is in so many cases the hardly separable work of men who also claim mention in literature proper, that a certain amount of doubling and of repetition is impossible to avoid. Yet it is not easy for any cool criticism to admit, in reference to the period of civil commotion in the seventeenth century, the rather hasty postulate of many literary historians that "amid the clash of arms" not only "laws" are silent, but the more elegant and peaceful exercises of the Muse. It may be doubted whether this postulate is ever to be admitted without limitations and allowances which detract enormously from its value; and it may seem that even in the fifteenth century in England we must not call upon the Wars of the Roses to account for too much of the literary infertility of our country, that even in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic generation of Frenchmen many things besides war and change served as causes for the decadence or intermission of the best literary production in France.

GEORGE
SAINTS-
BURY.
Secular
Literature.

But however this may be generally, in this special time it is impossible to recognise any great and decided falling-off, and

still more impossible to assign such as does exist wholly or even mainly to the political disturbance of the atmosphere. It would be too ridiculous to plead *in formâ pauperis* for a time when Milton, Browne, Taylor, Fuller, Hobbes, Herrick, and others were in their fullest vigour of life and writing; when Dryden, Temple, Tillotson, South, again with many others, were growing up to replace them. But what can safely and truly be said is that one generation, or rather one sequence of generations, was passing away, and that another generation, or sequence of generations, was beginning. And it is not clear that any single period shows that marvellously perennial character of our literature which has marked it for some four hundred years—that property, as of the Gardens of Alcinous, of bearing at once the ripe fruit, the ripening, and the flower—better than this and the ensuing subdivision of our subject. No other country can boast a Milton and a Dryden, a Browne and a Temple, overlapping each other by something like half a century—no other such a transference of the lamp from hand to hand, without so much as a flicker or a smouldering.

It will be convenient, however, in the present sub-section to notice almost solely the older men and styles, with a glance at that beginning of the new poetry which is revealed in Waller, Denham, and others. The change of English prose, the most important in its history, will conveniently occupy another sub-section to itself, and the individual great men of the new time may best be left for the following chapter.

We are here dispensed from dealing with some of the very greatest names which literature pure and simple may claim as well as any of her daughter branches. Milton during this time was almost wholly a prose writer, and almost wholly in prose a controversialist. Of Hobbes, Taylor, and Fuller we are similarly deprived; and the pleasing personalities of Harrington and Herbert and Henry More have fallen to other hands. But one is left who may almost console us for all the others, and that is Sir Thomas Browne. We had in the last chapter to say something of the “*Religio Medici*,” which, though written earlier, was printed in the dividing year of that and this section; and Browne lived till far into the period of the chapter that is to follow. But he did not himself publish anything of importance after the Restoration, and the largest

Sir
Thomas
Browne.

on the one hand, and the two most quidditative and characteristic on the other, of his performances appeared, the "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," or "Vulgar Errors," in 1646, and the "Hydriotaphia," or "Urn-Burial," with the "Garden of Cyrus," in 1658. Thus the Norwich physician produced during this troublesome time by far the greater bulk of that work which he himself prepared for the press, and though no lover of him would lose the "Christian Morals," it is undeniable that in it, as in all his posthumous and not definitely prepared work, the perfect Browne is sometimes wanting. It was indeed impossible that such a style as his — never unduly artificial, but always a pageant of artfully ordered magnificence — could be exhibited satisfactorily save when the author had time and opportunity to give it his finishing as well as his initial touches. Something was said in the last chapter as to the thought of this great master of English, as revealed in the "Religio Medici"—the scepticism that is never unorthodox, the fantasy that keeps pace with the fullest science of its day, the tireless thirst for knowledge



SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

united with a complete acquiescence in the unknowable. It is more pertinent here, in connection with the particular work which falls within our period, to dwell on the style and the matter in and on which this thought found its chief exercise. In both, in all, respects Browne is perhaps the cardinal example of the thought and manner of his time. Neither politics with theology (as in Milton), nor philosophy excluding theology as much as possible (as in Hobbes), nor science, nor any one study completely dominates Browne.

And how informing is the parallel between him and the great universalist of the generation before! One might extract an almost complete contrast between the sixteenth and seventeenth century from Browne and Bacon. Both are among the

Browne
and
Bacon.

most gorgeous writers of English prose, both devotees of natural and experimental science. Something must be allowed for individual temperament, something, perhaps, also for the fact that one was a Cambridge man and the other of Oxford; but the time will claim a large influence in the two results. The almost intolerant innovation of Bacon is accompanied by an almost fanatical confidence of being able to put something in the place of that which he destroys; the half reactionary conservatism of Browne is partly motived by, partly tempered with, the profoundest sceptical certainty that change is merely fanciful and progress little more than marking time. Bacon, though not exactly devoid of humour, has it in limited, intermittent, rather childish fashion; humour is the very blood of Browne's literary body, the very marrow of his literary bones. Bacon, intent upon the glorious but material gains of his dreams, is fundamentally unpoetical; there is more poetry in Browne than in any other Englishman who habitually writes prose. Bacon, always except in conduct wise, is rarely pathetic; Browne, though never maudlin, has the most passionate sense of "the pity of it" and the vanity of it—a sense which equals that of the Preacher himself.

The three works which have been mentioned, and of which one appeared just after the downfall of the Royal cause, the other two just before there was much hope of its revival, display these characteristics and others with an odd but by no means inconsistent contrast. The surprise which has sometimes been expressed at the tenderness with which Browne, a man of scientific habits and of the keenest intellect, handles his "Vulgar Errors," as if he loved them, is not itself very intelligent. We have become so accustomed to the aggressive and exclusive attitude of science that there seems something puzzling, almost something suspicious, in the attitude of a man who is perfectly willing to admit that there may be a great many more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in an exclusively scientific philosophy. It was not so then, when the education of students in physics was not different from that in metaphysics or in literature, and when they were consequently content "not to know" without thinking it necessary "to know *not*." Indeed, it is perhaps not excessive to see in the "Vulgar Errors," besides the exercise of a man

full of reading and ready with pen and argument, a scarcely covert plea in defence of an orthodox but all-pervading kind of philosophic doubt. "All these absurd things," the writer seems to be perpetually saying, in a current of undertone "have been believed by men probably as wise as we are, not worse informed in relation to the positive knowledge of their own time than we are, or than others will be. Perhaps they were not always so very wrong; even if they were, perhaps we are equally wrong, and our posterity will be equally wrong in the equally confident opinions which we hold and they will hold." And there are those to whom such an attitude, in matters not susceptible of logical demonstration, seems not very far from the perfection of wisdom. At any rate, it was the wisdom of some—perhaps of all—of the very wisest men of the seventeenth century.

The two delightful tractates which Browne published at the other end of our period, sound, one the very same note without doubt or question, the other a sort of excursion from and variation on it. In the "Urn Burial" Browne has gathered up, with an excellence not surpassed in English or any language, most of the reflections possible on a certain side of the text "All is vanity." In the "Garden of Cyrus"—a meditation on the singular virtues of the quincunx—he seems to have felt disposed to indicate one of the ways of escape from the melancholy which the too constant meditation of that text might throw over life itself. Humour, learning, and fantasy—or more often the three or some two of them combined—have been generally recognised as the only ways of escape, for few have found the experiment of Mycerinus-revel in or out of lamp-lighted halls satisfactory for any length of time. And it must never be forgotten that in the speculations of the "Religio Medici" earlier, and the practical precepts of the "Christian Morals" later, he has made it impossible for anyone to accuse him of scepticism as blank as it is unquestionably pervading. Nearly the greatest writer of English prose of the magnificent order, one of the best of all Englishmen from the moral and religious point of view: this is not too high a praise for the wisely—and not more than wisely—doubting Thomas, who waited for better times at Norwich through the darkness of the Rebellion, and lightened it with imperishable thought and words.

Poetry.

The chief poetical work of the time is not less hard to reconcile with the above-questioned theory than the chief prose work. For it consisted almost wholly (with the exception of isolated and exceptional things like Chamberlayne's curious "Pharonnida," or the philosophical poems of Beaumont and More) in the lyrical work, of which something was said in the last chapter, which extends into this, and which did not entirely cease with it, Herrick, Marvell, and Vaughan living far into the next. The civil wars were, indeed, in a way unfavourable to the poetry by directly or indirectly killing the poets. Carew had been lucky enough to die before; but Montrose (p. 454) was an actual and direct victim, Suckling, Lovelace, Crashaw, Drummond victims not so very indirect to the war and its consequences. In other respects, however, it saw rather the dying out of a generation and the incoming of a new style with Waller himself, the "greatest living poet" (if popularity be considered) of the time that put an end to the Caroline poetry. And the most characteristic single book of that poetry—the "Hesperides" of Robert Herrick—was produced in the dead waist and middle of the civil struggle, in the year of the king's death, at the moment when everything seemed blackest for literature and for poetry.

Herrick,
and other
Lyrist3.

That the "Hesperides" is the most typical single book of the class and kind there can be little doubt, though there may be higher and rarer touches in others. Its bulk, its general excellence in its own kind, make it exhibit the combined influences of Donne and Jonson (which, as was pointed out earlier, tell upon, and to some extent account for, this lyrical outburst) better than any other single volume. And long as Herrick had to wait for his public (it must be confessed that, though the times did not seem to have in the least chained the poet's tongue, they did much to block his hearers' ears), there is now not much difference of opinion in general points, however much there may be in particulars, about the poetical value of "The Mad Maid's Song" and "To Daffodils," of the "Night Piece to Julia" and "To the Virgins," of the "Litany" and "The White Island." Yet this book is only the most popular and coherent collection among an immense mass of verse, all informed by the most singular and attractive quality. It is largely affected by the "metaphysical" touch which derives from Donne and

Lyly. In work like that of Cowley, then the most popular, now the least read, this touch attained a very undue predominance. But when it was confined—as it was in the best examples of men so different as Carew and Crashaw, Vaughan and Herrick himself—to a daring yet not unnatural extension of the rights of metaphor, there can be little doubt that it added to poetry an attraction singularly proper for the chief poetical end of man,



Photo: University Press, Oxford.

SIR JOHN SUCKLING.

(Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

the transformation of the hackneyed and familiar into the strange and high. In all the men of this group it is present more or less, though its effects vary according to their idiosyncrasy. And the most remarkable thing about all of them—about Herrick and Carew in particular—is that, despite what looks like artificiality, it communicates, or at least is found in company with, a strange freshness and simplicity of appeal, which is nowhere else exceeded, if it is anywhere else equalled.

Montrose and Lovelace, in their blendings of the political and the amatory; Suckling, in his phrasing of the coxcombry combined with gallantry which the age affected on its way from the rapt devotion of the Elizabethan to the crude and rude materialism of the Restoration love-making; Vaughan and Crashaw, in their rendering of devotion—sensual as well as mystical in Crashaw's case, mystical and transcendental in Vaughan's; Carew, in another form of sensuality, which even at its grossest form is delicate, though certainly not spiritual; Herrick, in myriad moods of love and wine, of country sights and town society: all display, as do many others in a minor way, this singular kind of artful artlessness, of playful passion, of sublimated sensuality.

There is, however, another feature in this poetry which must not be missed, though it is not susceptible of any but a rather metaphysical explanation. This is the fact, that while this division of our lyric possesses in the very fullest measure possible the characteristics of "lyrical cry" and musical effect, it is absolutely the last division of English poetry to do this for a full century and a quarter. Except in faint and casual touches, no man or woman who was not at least half way through life when Charles II. made his entry into his reconciled capital could succeed in recovering the more quintessential spirit of song till William Blake sounded it anew just before Johnson's death. Some have attempted to account for this by the disuse of the previously universal custom of ladies and gentlemen singing to the lute and similar instruments. But this could have had but very little to do with the matter, for, in the first place, the practice was only gradually disused after the Restoration; and, in the second, it was not resumed when Blake first, and Coleridge next, reintroduced the highest lyric to literary English. No mere mechanical explanation will suffice to explain the absence of this touch almost (not quite) entirely from Dryden, who nevertheless could manage metre and rhythm with wonderful mastery; from Pope, for whom it might have seemed that the mechanical part of verse could have no secrets; from the scholarly perfection of Gray; from the varied poetical accomplishments of Prior, Parnell, and Thomson. That it seems to have lived longest in men like Rochester and Sedley, in whom the best breeding was associated with the most doubtful morals, is a fact which might lend itself to ingenious or

paradoxical comment, if more space were here at command and a different object before us. As it is, it must be enough to say that even during this period—or at least during the earlier half of it—the air was still full of this melodious madness, and that, save for a few after-bursts growing rarer and ever rarer, sense or silence took its place in the chapels of Polymnia and Erato.

Between the splendid coloured prose of which Sir Thomas Browne was the chief practitioner, and which showed itself in almost all departments of writing—some of them to all appearance not particularly well fitted for its display—and the equally splendid and coloured, but as a rule lighter and more fantastic, verse of which we have just spoken, a certain amount of miscellaneous work, and the earlier efforts of some who will be more fitly and more fully discussed later, occupy the field. It is not, however, superfluous to make a few repetitions or anticipations, for there is no greater danger in the survey of history by periods than that of pinning down certain persons and products too narrowly to certain divisions, and forgetting how much they intertwine and overlap. Thus, it is well to remember that not merely Dryden's first boyish work, but the very distinct and characteristic "Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell," date from this time. The troubles did not prevent Walton from amassing the materials of most of his work, and producing a good deal of it. "The Compleat Angler" itself appeared in 1655, and the "Lives," the earliest of which—that of Donne—had been published just two years before the beginning of our chapter-time, were spaced over the rest of it; and, a little beyond, Dugdale was more or less quietly at work at Oxford throughout the whole of it, completing and working up the "Monasticon" and his other work. Howell wrote indefatigably in prison or out of it; Clarendon must in exile have at least begun to collect and compose; Bunyan was settling down, after those problematical experiences of his, to preach and write. Pepys, until the extreme end, had probably not got further in literature than the composition of madrigals and the suggestion of sermons (afterwards to be repented of) as to the perishing of the memory of the wicked; but his great contemporary and fellow diarist, Evelyn, had already accomplished no small amount of writing before the Restoration—when, indeed, he was a man of forty. Of Cowley's prose,

Walton,
Dugdale
Evelyn,
and
others.

what has to be said will come better in the sub-section which immediately follows this; but, though only Evelyn's senior by two years, he was already at the height of his literary reputation—a reputation which did not long outlast his not long life. Glanvill, not least characteristic of the writers of the age, both in his manner and in that spirit of casting out doubt by doubt which might make "Scepticismus Triumphans"

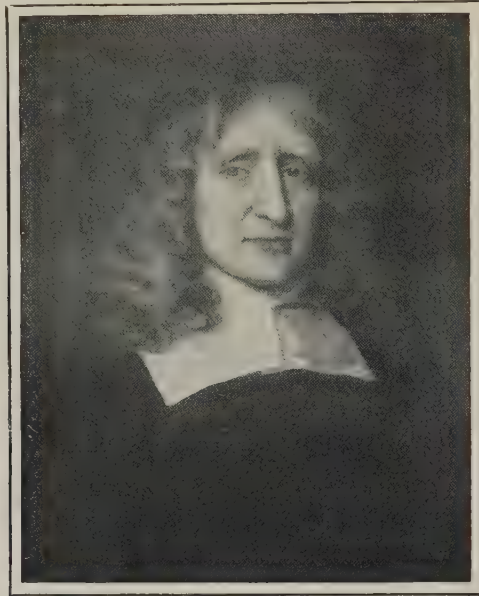


Photo: Walker & Cocherell.

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

a fair second title for his "Sadducismus Triumphatus," may for this reason perhaps better be mentioned here than later. But a catalogue is impossible, and enough has been said for a characterisation.

The
Develop-
ment of
Prose.

There has been a constant and, with insignificant exceptions, a unanimous tendency to make the year 1660, or the epoch of the Restoration with which our period in this chapter concludes, a turning point, more important on the whole and more definite than any other, in the history of English prose. Such differences as have exhibited themselves on this head

have either turned on points of minor importance or have concerned, not the facts of the change, but the critic's liking for it — a very different matter. The change in poetry noticeable, and noticed in the last section, is great, but it is not greater than others which are associated with the names of Chaucer, of Spenser, of Wordsworth, of Coleridge. Nothing quite similar (if the extent and the comparative suddenness of the alteration be taken together) exists in the history of prose. The reasons of the character of the change itself and the personality of those to whom it was due may in turn profitably engage us.

It may seem a little puerile and question begging to urge that the comparative dying down of the poetic impulse in the nation accounts for the impulse and vigour of prose, but such is the fact. It has been noted in the last chapter that, despite the abundance, the richness, and the magnificence of poetry in the Jacobean and Caroline time, that time was itself rather an age of prose than of verse—that the tendency of the greater writers inclined wholly or partially to prose—that even the greater poets were prose writers as well. But during this time the characteristics of poetical form and harmony were allowed to shed themselves to a great degree on prose itself. Milton—a poet supreme, as some will have it, in poetic form, and by all esteemed a master of it—wrote his poetry not very much otherwise than as he wrote his prose; Browne—a prose-man pure and simple—manifested in his prose much of the spirit, if none of the form, of poetry. But in such a state of things all experienced students of human history and nature know that the younger and mounting influence will soon absorb the older and declining. And we shall see, when we come to the next period itself, that, whereas in the first half of the seventeenth century prose was shadowed and coloured by poetry, so in the second half poetry was shadowed and coloured by prose.

There is, however, much more than this to be said in the way of accounting for the development and, as we may perhaps say, the specialisation of prose. Until the religious distraction of the sixteenth century the common prose language of Europe had been Latin, and such a hold established by such a language as Latin can be but slowly relaxed, even by the most powerful

The Decay
of Latin.

and insubordinate spirit of innovation. Even the separation between men of different countries, which political and religious variance brought about, was some time before it got the better of this universal language of men of science, men of affairs, men of letters. It is well known that even Bacon, who died but some fifteen years before the beginning of our period, and nearly three-quarters of a century after Ascham and Cheke, and Wilson—scholars as they were—had foreseen the triumph of English, felt, or professed to feel, an utter disbelief in the lasting powers of the modern languages, and always, with his constant view to posterity, preferred to write in Latin. His pupil Hobbes retained something of the same feeling, which it is well known survived more than a century later in the disinclination of a man like Johnson to write epitaphs—*ex hypothesi* the kind of writing that aims most at endurance—in the vernacular.

Early Ex-
periments
in English.

But these influences of sentiment and prejudice were by no means the only ones that encouraged the development of what Dante centuries earlier called, in reference to Italian, one "cardinal, courtly, and curial" dialect for English. The oldest English prose (to which some have held that post-Reformation practice was in some respects a mere return) was read by no one except an infinitesimally small number of antiquaries. Middle English, like that of Chaucer, Mandeville, and Mallory, was dropping out of reading by the general, and had long undergone the Renaissance contempt of scholars. And the century of modern English (for it had lasted about a century) had been mostly one of experiment. In so far as there had been any standard, it had been a sort of English-Latin, such as we see in Ascham, even in Hooker, and in hundreds of others; a style clear, useful—sometimes even eloquent—but with something exotic (due to the constant difficulty of approximating two languages so utterly different in all points of accidence and syntax), and destitute on the whole of colour and vivacity. On the other hand, the indomitable idiosyncrasy of the Englishman had, consciously or unconsciously, protested against this by all sorts of revolts and experiments in the direction of ornament, of variety, of colour. There had been the eccentric, but by no means wholly unsalutary, preciousness of Euphuism and Sidneyism. There had been the vernacular extravagances of the

pamphleteers. There had been (and it ought never to be neglected, though it too often has been) the constant influence of the prose dialogue in every possible vein—comic and tragic, affected and familiar—of hundreds, almost thousands, of plays. Lastly there had been the splendid purple prose of the great writers who embellished this very period, with Milton, Taylor, and Browne at their head—a prose in which, while the more colourless and rigid influence of the Latin classics of the Augustan period was resisted, fresh classicism from the silver age and from the vocabulary of all ages was imported, and in which the sentence was allowed to rise and fall like a sea, and to lavish stores of many-hued sea-wrack on the shore of the reader's mind.

The magnificence of this mid-seventeenth century prose has in modern times made some unwilling to admit any progress or advance in the change which followed—has led them to resent it as an almost unmixed evil. This seems to be a fallacy of affection. There is probably no one—if there is any one, it is certainly not the present writer—who derives such delight from a typical passage of Dryden or of Temple, or of Tillotson, or even of South, as he does from one of Taylor, of Browne—even from one of Glanvill, or in his less grotesque moods of Fuller. But this is not the question. The Brownist and Taylorian prose had rashly taken upon itself the disabilities, in borrowing the appeals, of poetry. It was bound to be very good, or else to be disgusting; and it was at least doubtfully suitable as an instrument of all work. In the hands of its great practitioners it was, if not always, nearly always very good; and it lent itself admirably to such work as they were called and chosen to do. But no nation could produce hundreds and thousands of Brownes or Taylors, and no nation with the subjects of prose



MONUMENT OF TILLOTSON.
(*St. Lawrence Jewry Church, London.*)

treatment multiplying yearly and daily could confine itself to impassioned pulpit eloquence, or to fantastic and sceptical descants on the data of the science of the day and yesterday. It wanted clear exposition of constantly multiplying business and knowledge; it wanted practical argument rather than fantastic ethics and politics; it wanted diaries, travels, histories, light essays, newspapers, novels. Was it to be expected—was it even possible—that such things should be written in the style of the “Hydriotaphia” or the “Funeral Sermon on the Countess of Carbery”?

The
Growth of
the New
Prose.

In the main, no doubt, that change—as changes always do—worked itself out less as a deliberately planned attempt of certain persons with a definite aim before them than as a haphazard adjustment of supply to demand, and an almost fortuitous growth of demand for supply. The French influence, of which so much is made, may easily be exaggerated: as a matter of fact, modern French prose had not very much the start of English; Descartes, its first distinct practitioner, writing, like Bacon, in Latin rather more willingly than in the vernacular, and Pascal, its first really great master, not producing his one finished French work, the “*Lettres Provinciales*,” till within four years of the Restoration. But, as also generally happens, the men who had the chief influence were born within a very short time of each other. Cowley, whose “*Essays*” certainly show here and there some change, was born as early as 1618, but he is as often of the old style as of the new. The five men who really represent it, both in actual development and in influence, Temple, Halifax, Tillotson, Dryden, and South, were all born in the five years, 1628–1633; while Halifax, Dryden, and Tillotson were born within two years. Their particular work will fall into the next chapter; the important thing here is to state the general tendency of their writing and to contrast it with that which preceded. The habit, common with literary historians and critics, of taking literally a kind of alleged avowal by Dryden to Congreve, that he learnt his prose style of Tillotson, is extremely uncritical. In the first place, Congreve was a Whig courtier, Tillotson was a Whig saint; and we do not know that Dryden ever said it. In the second, Dryden, both by natural generosity and by an acquired habit of dedications, was apt to speak with rather too liberal encomium of everybody whom he

was not actually attacking, and unless he was himself attacked was entirely free from small pretentiousness as to his own originality. Thirdly, and most important of all, it is demon-



TOMB AND EFFIGY OF ROBERT SOUTH.

(*Westminster Abbey.*)

strable as a matter of strictest literary history that Dryden could not have heard, much less read, a great deal of Tillotson's works before the time when, as we know, his own style was

pretty well formed. He may have taken hints, have been encouraged in persevering by a man who had under the same "skiey influences" as himself entered on a particular road, but we need not go out of our way to regard him as Tillotson's pupil, or the good Archbishop (who, by the way, was a distinctly less good writer than any other of the quintet) as the special hierophant of the new prose mysteries. These mysteries, like others of the age, consisted chiefly in the discarding of anything that was mysterious. It should be, but perhaps as a matter of experience is not, unnecessary to say that many of the characters of the newer style can be found in the old, and many of the older style in the new. When it is said that in the prose of the men who had reached thirty or thereabout at the Restoration the sentences are, as a rule, shorter, the language far less coloured and poetical, it is by no means intended that short sentences, plain diction, and conversational handling are not to be found before 1660. In South, who made an almost indecently violent attack on Jeremy Taylor's floridness, very many passages appear which by Addison's time would have seemed almost as florid as Taylor himself. In Dryden, who denounces "Clevelandisms," or metaphysical conceits, such conceits are by no means to seek. But, as in all such cases, the *general* tendency and character must be sought rather than the exceptional features; and the general tendency of the new prose was beyond doubt or question to clearness, precision, chastity, and simplicity of style.

Its
Structure.

It had, moreover, a particular tendency which became the most distinctive of all, and which helped on the general tendency more than anything else. This was towards the development of a definite but tolerably simple cadence of prose, and a scheme of arithmetic balance of rise and fall in every sentence. This, of course, had never been wholly absent from English; it is too natural a device of the prose writer or speaker. It had very particularly manifested itself in the quaint operations and parallelisms of Euphuism, and in the most ornate writers of our present time it is very frequently to be discovered. But these writers, partly through a mistaken adaptation of the Latin relative, and partly because the fulness of their thought and the abundance of their words scorned to be thus limited, had addicted themselves beyond measure to many-jointed sentences—the length and complexity of which not infrequently obscured

the sense itself. They also constantly prevented any simple and homogeneous rhythmical effect, though the great masters substituted for this concerted strains of wonderful beauty, such as the merely balanced style scarcely, if ever, attains.

It may seem a little remarkable that at the very time when poetry was drawing nearer to prose, prose should have in fact estranged itself more than ever from poetry, and have almost for the first time adopted a form separate from it. And the two things together were, in fact, unfortunate, because they ended in such an approximation that to separate them again the too famous "poetic diction" had to be adopted, with sufficiently lamentable results in some cases, and not with the best in any. But for the time, the spirit and pulse of poetry being low, it was decidedly fortunate that no attempts were made to heighten it, except the "heroic" rant, of which its greatest practitioner grew sick before he had practised it very long. In prose something was lost, but a good deal was gained. From its extravagances of religious and poetical enthusiasm the nation settled down to a rather humdrum, slightly materialist, setting of its house in order, politically, commercially, and in many other ways. It felt no raptures, and it did not want to express any, but it had a great deal to think and to say in its own way, and one of its most businesslike achievements was the fashioning of a form of expression. This was done so thoroughly that to the present moment no great change has passed over the ordinary style of English prose. Fashion has had its minor vicissitudes, time has rendered a few words obsolete, a few constructions archaic. In ornate prose the second half of the time has seen many, and even the first some, experiments, and there are not wanting young writers who say, and perhaps believe, that radical and vital alterations are being or will soon be effected. But on the whole the fact remains that a good ordinary sentence of standard English prose in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is far more like a good ordinary sentence of standard prose in the last quarter of the seventeenth than the latter was to the average prose of even fifty years earlier.

Prose and
Poetry.

HARD as it is for the historian to draw a truthful picture of society in time of peace, it is still harder in time of war. If he be something of an impressionist, he may give his picture an

MARY
BATESON.
Social
Life:
Society
Abnormal.

unreal unity; if he be a lover of exact detail, his picture may be wanting in breadth of treatment. This difficulty meets him where the conditions of life are normal, but when civil war breaks up old-established social relations, when not society only, but families are divided, so that fathers fight against their sons, then, rather than paint a volcanic eruption, the artist may think it well to leave his canvas a blur; but as a picture his blurred canvas would still be false. Society did not cease to exist because the groups of which it is compact were changing. The ties which bind men to act, not as isolated, irresponsible units, but as members of one body, were strengthened, rather than weakened, in the struggle to quell a rebellious member.

Moral
Discipline.

Sociality, in many of its lighter forms, it is true, almost ceased to exist; and in the times of Elizabeth and James I. sociality seems the be-all and end-all of society. But the Puritan Revolution taught that society could be held together, at least for a time, by a common moral discipline, which enforced the rejection of all amusement as hitherto understood. That the time was short may be ascribed to the fact that the new standard of morality appeared as a discipline of negations to those whose moral standard was unchanged. The time would have been shorter had there not been many even on the Royalist side who preferred a discipline of negations to none at all.

In the
Army.

The enthusiastic enjoyment which discipline affords to many natures is well seen in the history of the Parliamentary army. In 1642 each man was fighting for his share of plunder, but two years later a number of average Englishmen had learned the practical efficiency of long-trained soldiers, and, what is more, fought as if possessed by a common inspiration. The Royalist army, on the other hand, excelled at first through superior military training, and failed at last, in spite of the heroism of individuals whose devotion to the king's cause was to them a religious inspiration, for want of moral discipline. Thus the Royalist Sir P. Warwick, complimenting the Parliamentary general "on the regularity and temperance of his army," was candidly told by Fairfax (for he, Warwick says, "was of a rational temper, not fanatical") that the best common soldiers he had came out of the king's army. "I found you had made them good soldiers, and I have made them good men." In a dispute between a Royalist and a Puritan, the Royalist said,

"In our army we have the sins of men, drinking and wenching; but in yours you have those of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion." The drunken man's courage, great as it might be,



SAINTS AND SINNERS.

(Title-page to Samuel Clark's "Mirrour for Saints," 1654.)

was not equal to that of the devil intoxicated with spiritual pride.

Chillingworth, preaching before the Court at Oxford, was bold to say:—

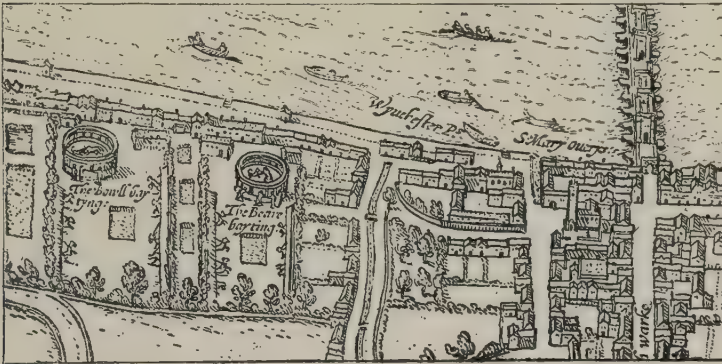
"They that maintain the king's righteous cause with the hazard of their lives and fortunes . . . by their oaths and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and profaneness, fight more

² Vindication of King Charles, 1647, quoted in Sanford, "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion," p. 87.

army by good discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors." But the earnest letters of the Prince, a boy of fifteen counted for little with Goring, whose "perpetual sprightfulness and pleasantness of humour" were not easily sobered.¹ On the other side, Cromwell himself and his officers

"took upon them to preach and pray publicly to their troops . . . and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach amongst themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches and preached to the people."²

The officers enforced the moral of their sermons by discipline. In Colonel Hutchinson's orders to the garrison at Nottingham



THE BULL AND BEAR-BAITING RINGS, BANKSIDE.

(Braun and Hohenberg, "*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*," 1573.)

finer for drinking on the Sabbath were levied, not only on the offenders, but also on the tavern-keepers, who on a second offence lost their licence. For tippling after 9 p.m., when the "taptoo" beat, the fine was 2s. 6d., and for drinking in quarters after the tattoo 2s. Every drunken man was fined 5s., and the man who sold him liquor was fined. The fine on oaths was 3d.

"Anyone . . . found idly standing or walking in the street in sermon-time, or playing at any games upon the Sabbath or fast-day . . . shall pay half a crown, or suffer imprisonment till he pay the same."³

As the wage of a foot-soldier was only 8d.⁴ a day, these fines were not easily paid.

¹ Clarendon: "History of the Great Rebellion," v., 440, ix., 8-10, etc.

² *Ibid.*, x., 79. ³ *Notes and Queries*, Jan. 29, 1876, quoted in Firth's edition of Colonel Hutchinson's Life. ⁴ Gardiner, "Civil War," ii., 195, in 1645.

Discipline
in Civil
Society.

Civilians were subjected to an equally severe discipline. In 1642 plays and bear-baiting were forbidden as unfit for such distracted times. Evelyn writes, 5th February, 1647:

"Saw a tragi-comedy acted in the cock-pit, after there had been none of these diversions for many years during the war."

In the same year they were again prohibited, but in 1656 Davenant got leave to take money at the doors for an entertainment consisting of declamations and music, which he developed into a form of opera. Colonel Pride, by killing a number of bears, assisted the execution of the ordinance against bear-baiting. Cock-matches were also stopped. The object of the Government in checking these amusements was to stop Royalist plots, which were concocted, they believed, in these crowded assemblies. Sir John Reresby, writing in 1658, complains that:

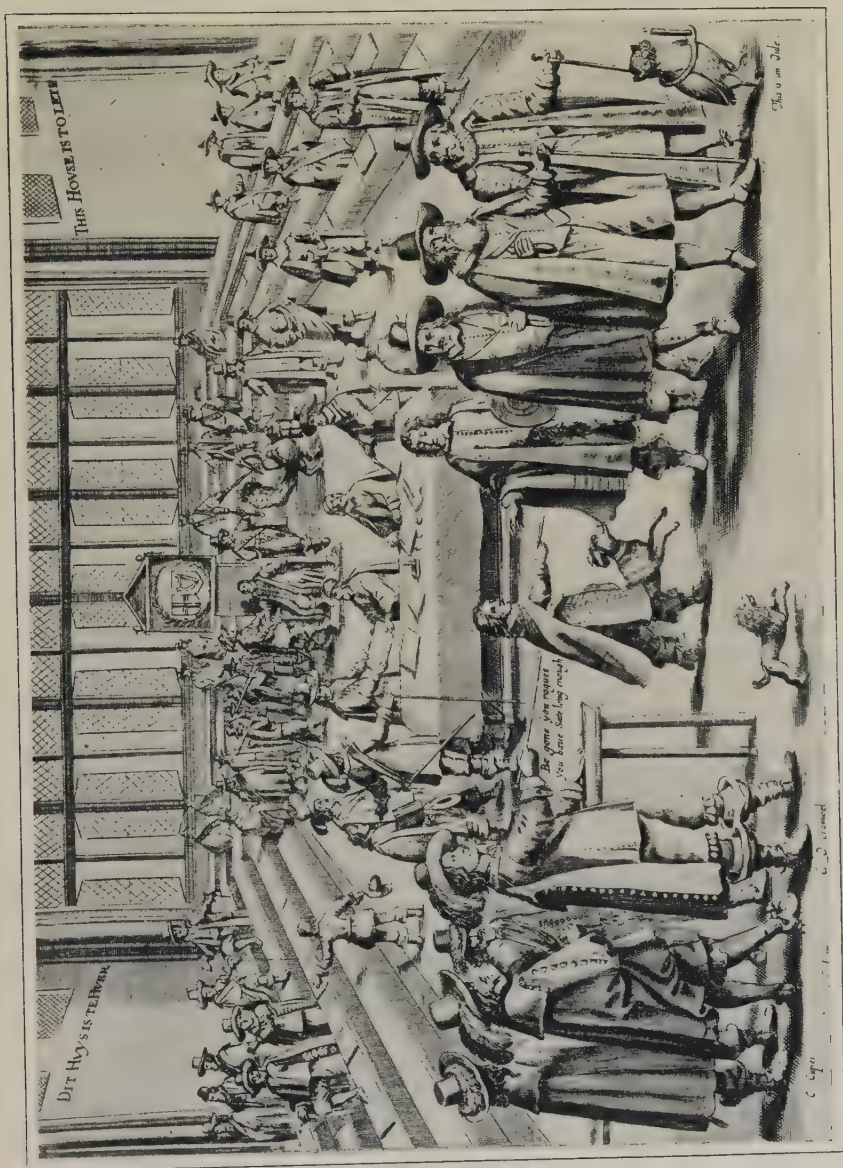
"There were no comedies or other diversions, which were forbidden not only as ungodly, but for fear of drawing company or number together."

According to Royalist squib-writers, the Puritans stopped cock-matches because they "thought it their interest to let nothing live that would fight."¹

In 1644 all maypoles were ordered to be pulled down, all games and sports, and all selling of wares on Sundays, forbidden. After forbidding all worldly labour, the ordinance for the Sabbath declares that it "shall not extend to prohibit dressing meat in private families."² In the same year Christmas Day fell on Wednesday, the appointed Puritan fast-day, and it was determined to enforce the fast. In other years precautions were taken either to prevent the decoration of churches or to keep them shut, to discourage all holiday-making and to encourage shopkeepers to keep their shops open.³ Instead of saints' days, monthly holidays were reluctantly appointed, 1647, "for scholars, servants and apprentices." In 1643, when the Lord Mayor feasted both Houses of Parliament, no healths were drunk,⁴ and in 1654 an ordinance prohibited the practice, and ordered swearing, gaming, and

¹ Harl. Misc., iii., 136. See an article by Mr. Firth in *Macmillan's Magazine*, October, 1894, on Cromwell's view of sport. ² Neal's "Puritans," iii., 167.

³ Cf. Fifth Report Hist. MSS. Com., p. 192. Evelyn, "Diary," December 25, 1652, etc. ⁴ Letters of Brilliana, Lady Harley (Camden Society).



OLIVER CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.
(From a satirical Dutch Print.)

drunkenness to be punished.¹ When in 1655 the major-generals began to exercise their police functions, the laws were rigorously executed. Horse-races were suppressed, players whipped as rogues, and a new ordinance for press licences was issued, and was used especially against books containing scurrilities and gross jests. In 1657 any person betting at cards, dice, tables, tennis, bowls, shovelboard, or any other game, was ordered to forfeit twice his winnings.

Discipline
in the
Govern-
ment.

In 1647 the army demanded that "such men, and such men only, might be preferred to the great power and trust of the Commonwealth as are approved at least of moral righteousness," and when in 1653 Cromwell broke up the Long Parliament, and the army seized ruling power, men like the profligate Henry Marten and the tipsy Chaloner fell into obscurity.² Before that time, one of the godly members having made a motion that all profane and unsanctified persons be expelled the House, Marten stood up and moved "that all the fooles might be put out likewise, and then there would be a thin House."³ The influence exercised by the lives of Cromwell, Fairfax, Fleetwood, Ireton, Lambert, to name but a few of the great names of the Commonwealth, is not to be lightly estimated. Whether it was deep and lasting some may doubt, but this at least we know, that while they were in power vice was no longer boasted of in official ranks, but concealed. In later years, when a friend of Charles II. urged on him "the necessity of having at least a show of religion in the Government, and sobriety," he said "it was that that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world."⁴ The Royalists followed the fashion Oliver set up, for they became

"so regular in their lives and so exemplary to all (though there were some drinking Hectors intermixed) that they converted very many; and had they kept the same temper upon His Majesty's return which they did to make way for his return (to say no more) we had certainly been in a better state than we are at present."

Thus writes Sir P. Warwick in the reign of Charles II. Unfortunately many were abroad learning other lessons, which

¹ In the "Character of England," 1659, the drinking of healths is described as customary.

² Article, "Henry Marten," "Dict. Nat. Biog."

³ Aubrey, "Lives of Eminent Men," p. 436.

⁴ Pepys, ed. Braybrooke, 1889, iv., 282.

sent them back, like Evelyn's typical traveller, "all ribbon, feather, and romanzo," "insolent, ignorant, and debauched."¹ Others lived retired lives in the country to avoid suspicion. Young Sir John Reresby found that in London he made so little progress in learning gentlemanly accomplishments that he decided to travel with a tutor. He writes:—

"Such as lived in town were either such zealots with the rebellious, schismatical superstitions of those times, or so very debauched on the other hand, that it was very hard for a young man to avoid infection on one side or the other" ("Memoirs," ed. Cartwright, 1875, p. 25).

The same writer complains that "the citizens and common people of London had then so far imbibed the customs and manners of a Commonwealth that they could scarce endure the sight of a gentleman," and that the common salutation to a man well dressed was "French dog," and the like. On his return from travel, his *valet de chambre* was pelted in the street (1658) because he wore a feather in his hat. Similarly, Mrs. Thornton writes, 1659, that Lambert wanted "to root out the very face of a clargieman, or gentleman, or the civiler sort of the commonalty."² These statements express the feelings of Royalists. The advanced republicans, on the other hand, regretted that the social revolution caused so little change in etiquette and social forms. Cromwell himself had said in 1644 that he "hoped to live to see never a nobleman in England," but both in his first and second Protectorate titles were used and knighthoods were conferred. "His Highness's Household" and "His Highness's Court" were kept up with full state ceremony. To Cromwell the dignity of kingship was natural, and, inexperienced as he was, he never exposed himself to mockery by his behaviour. Not all who came to the front had the same gift of good manners which Cromwell and his children possessed. Mrs. Hutchinson tells how the wife of the new Deputy of Ireland, passing Cromwell's daughter (Lady Ireton, widow of the late Deputy) "put my Lady Ireton below, who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront."

Republican
Manners.

Cromwell's
Court.

A contrast with the stories of Stuart Court revelries is afforded by the Dutch Ambassadors' account of their entertain-

¹ Evelyn's "Correspondence," 1647, 1657, and 1658.

² Her "Autobiography," edited for the Surtees Society, p. 99.

ment by the Protector in 1654. They were invited to dinner, and fetched in two coaches about half-past one. At Whitehall twelve trumpeters were ready, sounding against their coming. The ambassadors and Cromwell dined at one table, his wife and the ambassadors' wives at another. Music played during dinner, and afterwards all joined in a psalm. As His Highness



ELIZABETH, MOTHER OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

(By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Sandwich.)

handed the music of the psalm to his ambassadors, "he told us," they write, "it was yet the best paper that had been exchanged between us." "We were nobly entertained."¹

Cromwell's
Mother.

Cromwell gave his mother apartments in Whitehall, where she died, aged over ninety, in 1654. She did not care for sovereignty and splendour, and her love for her son made her constantly wretched. "She was discontented if she did not see him twice a day, and never heard the report of a gun

¹ Thurloe, ii., 257.

but she exclaimed: 'My son is shot.' Ludlow and the republicans were offended at the needless ceremonies and great expenses which the Protector put the public to in burying her.¹ Cavaliers and republicans loved a joke on the subject of her modest dowry, saying that the nation on her death would be eased of the burden of taxation, since the Protector inherited her jointure of £60 a year. Little is known of Cromwell's wife, save that she was a homely woman, a good housewife, and a good mother. Her enemies called her "Joan," because of her inelegant manners.

To all alike the times were "troublesome" and "distracted." Almost every county supplied pillage to the armies of the king, Parliament, or the Scots. Those whose property was not sequestered could not collect their rents. The letters of women, divided from their husbands and sons, and left to manage the estate while the head of the household was in arms, tell us something of the meaning of civil war. Lady Denbigh's letters, for instance, give the sad story of a mother whose husband and



ELIZABETH, WIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL

(From an old family portrait.)

son were fighting on opposite sides. In vain she tries to win her son to his father's cause, and after argument appeals to his tenderness:

"O my deere son, that you would trown [turn] to the king. . . . I cannot forget what a son I had onc[e], and I hope to see him so again. . . . I do believe you will find that your mother have delt more really with you then any other, and I am sure hath suffered more then any other. . . . At this time I do more travell with soro for the grefe I suffer . . . then ever I did to breeng you into the world. . . ."

Writing after her husband's death at the hands of his enemies:

¹ Noble, "Memoirs," i. 85. Ludlow, "Memoirs," ed. Firth, i., 379.

"O my deere Jesus, put it into my deere son's hart to leve that merciles company that was the deth of his father, for now I think of it with horror, before with sorrow. . . . So, deere sone, not forgetting my ould sute, I take my leve. Our Lord bless you. Your loveing mother."¹

**Women's
Suffering
and
Heroism.**

The letters of Brilliana, Lady Harley, to her son Ned² are less painful, for, though her long separation from him filled her with sadness, their hearts were united. In the absence of her husband and son, she took the management of the Brampton estate, and as danger drew nigh her Puritan neighbours crowded into her castle for safety. To her husband she writes constantly, begging to be allowed to leave the place, which she knows is in danger of siege, but, as he urged her to stay, she writes, July 15, 1643

"Since you think Brampton a safe place for me I will think so too; and I would not for anything do that which might make the world believe our hope did begin to fail in our God. But be pleased to send me directions what I should do if there should be any stirs. I should be loath to have Ned Harley come down, for I think he is safest where he is."³

The "stirs" soon came, for a six weeks' siege began on July 25. The devoted lady died in October. She could head a garrison if occasion required, but it is from her letters to her son that we know she loved best to be making pies and cakes to send to her husband and her "deere Ned," to whom she also sends powder for his hair, "handkerchers" and shirts, and home-made socks. Lady Derby at Lathom House, Lady Bankes at Corfe Castle, Lady Arundel at Wardour, defended their castles with the same heroism. Less famous is Mrs. Purefoy's defence of a dwelling-house, attacked by Prince Rupert at the head of 500 men. Her son-in-law and three servants were the only men in the house. Mrs. Purefoy, her daughters, and three maids, supported them, and this little party, armed with twelve muskets, shot three captains and fifteen men. Prince Rupert was so deeply impressed by their bravery that he gave quarter, and abstained from plunder.⁴

Nursing.

The heroism of Anne Murray, afterwards Lady Halkett, was of another type. Her gift was sick-nursing, and her opportunity came on Sunday morning, September 8, 1650, when, five days

¹ Historical MSS. Com., App. to Fourth Report, pp. 259, 260.
for the Camden Society.

² Edited
³ Fourteenth Report, Hist. MSS. Com., App., Part
ii., p. 91. (1894.)

⁴ Webb, "Memorials of the Civil War," i., 131.



Brampton Bryan Castle.



Corfe Castle.



Wardour Castle.

CASTLES DEFENDED BY THEIR CHÂTELAINES.

after the battle of Dunbar, some of the wounded reached the house where she was staying. Between Sunday morning and Monday she writes:

"I beleeve threescore was the least that was dresed by me and my woman and Ar. Ro. [a man], who I imployed to such as was unfitt for mee to drese; and beside the plaisters or balsam I aplied, I gave every one of them as much with them as might drese them 3 or 4 times, for I had provided myselfe very well with things nesenary for that imploymentt, expecting they might be usefull."

Her manservant called out, on seeing one of the men with his head split open: "Thou art but a dead man." The man, who showed courage enough before, became much disheartened, but Anne cheered him up, and "he wentt frankly from dresing," for she had "given him something to refresh his spiritts" in the shape of hopeful religious counsel, and he recovered. Many of the wounds had been left for so long, she says, that

"itt may bee imagined they were very noisome; butt one particularly was in that degree . . . that none was able to stay in y^e roome, butt all left mee. Accidentally a gentleman came in, who seeing mee (nott withoutt reluctancy) cutting off the man's sleeve of his doublet, w^{ch} was hardly fitt to be touchted, he was so charitable as to take a knife and cutt itt off and fling (it) in y^e fire."

Elsewhere she says: "A further accountt may bee had here-after iff itt be nesenary" of her treatment of a girl "three yeare under a discomposed spiritt," of a woman with lupus, and of a man with a wen. She showed an equally courageous spirit in another matter. When the news came that her plighted lover had abruptly married someone else, she says:

"Flinging my selfe downe upon (the) bed, I said, 'Is this the man for whom I have sufred so much? Since hee hath made himselfe unworthy my love, hee is unworthy my anger or concerne;' and rising imediately, I wentt outt into the next roome to my super as unconcernedly as if I had never had any interest in him, nor had never lost itt."

She was, however, capable of cowardice, for once, when alarmed by an unwelcome proposal of marriage, and asked was she married, she writes: "(Lord pardon the equivocation), I sayd *I am* (outt aloud), and secrettly said *nott*."¹

The Duchess of Newcastle writes severely of the women who haunt Parliament and Committees to recover estates, "running

¹ "Autobiography," edited for the Camden Society.

about with their several causes, complaining of their several grievances, exclaiming against their several enemies," but how painful this necessary soliciting was to some women may be seen in the letters of Mary Lady Verney to her husband in exile.¹

Women of
Business.

In the humbler ranks of society the spiritual experiences of the converted were to them an absorbing interest, and some women took to preaching.² Bunyan, when he overheard three or four poor women "sitting at the door in the sun, and talking about the things of God," in a way which showed him the depth of their knowledge of the "Grace abounding," realised that he had been "but a poor painted hypocrite," though already "a brisk talker" himself in matters of religion.

Godly
Women.

"I heard, but I understood not, for they were far above, out of my reach. Their talk was about the new Birth, the work of God on their hearts. . . . They also discoursed of their own wretchedness of heart, of their Unbelief, and did condemn, slight, and abhor their own Righteousness as filthy and insufficient to do them any good. And methought they spake as if Joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture Language . . . that they were to me as if they had found a new world—as if they were people that dwelt alone."



A FUR TIPPET, 1645.

(By W. Hollar.)

It was a time when women could do and did much to earn that moral respect which Puritans accorded them, but it was no time of intellectual advance. The Commonwealth, indeed, had no care for the development of the reasoning intelligence³ in either man or woman. The letters of many ladies might be quoted to show how barren of intellectual interests their lives were; in some cases the times appeared to them "distracted" only because they had less pocket-money.⁴ Some, who cared nothing for the events which had driven their friends into exile, were eager to make use of friends exiled in Paris, who

Other
Feminine
Interests.

¹ Edited by Frances Lady Verney. ² Clarendon, x., 79. ³ Gardiner, "Civil War," iii., 120. ⁴ See the letters of Sue and Pen Verney.

Dress.

would do their shopping for them. The Verneys, for instance are asked:

"Could you by [buy] mee any prity coulred [coloured] stoffe to make mee a peticote, 4 Bredes [breadths] of saten is enofe; I never put in more then 5 yard . . . but I hear thay ware now in Franc coulred slefes and stomicheres, therefore ther must be somthing alowed for that; . . . I would not have one to cost to much; 4 or 5 pound . . . and, deare madam, bestoe me 30 shellings in anie prety thing for my head, to sote [suit] me out a litell."



A CAVALIER OF 1646.

(*"The Picture of an English Antick,"* a broadsheet.)

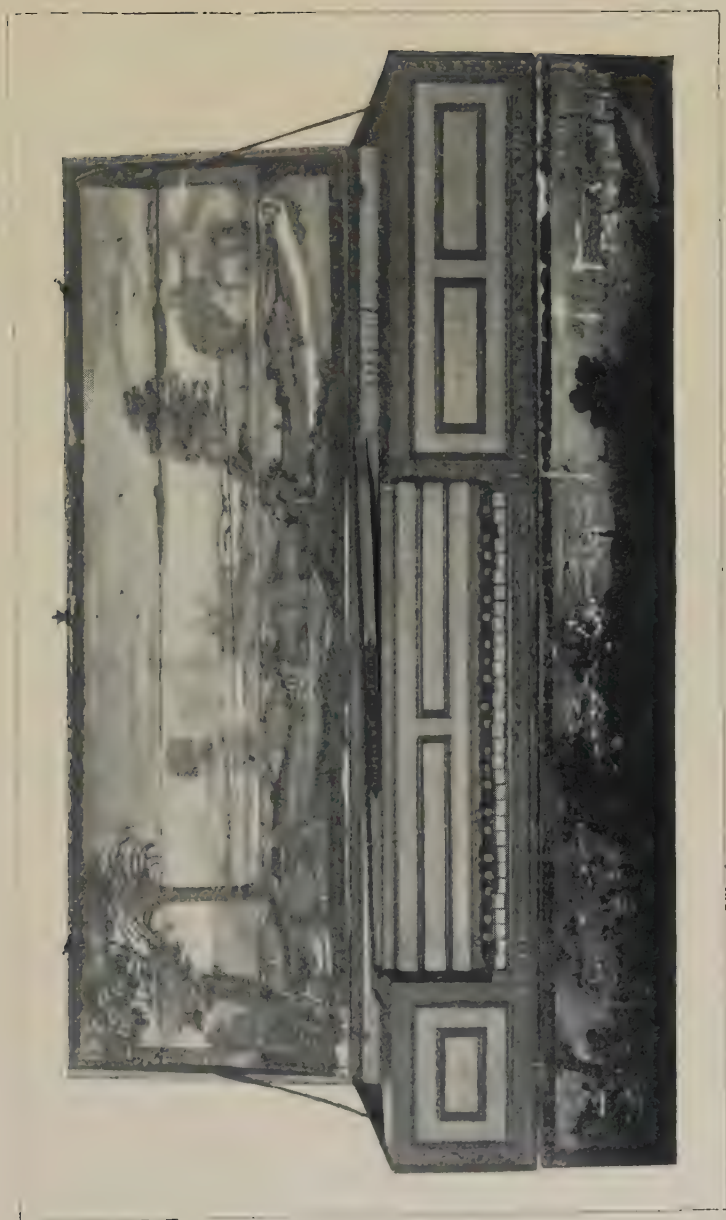
family paid £40 for a muff and mantle.¹ Out of doors women wore peaked beaver hats, or a black hood and coverchief tied under the chin.

Men's
Dress.

To men dress was not entirely deprived of interesting opportunities, for in the first half of the period the plainer forms of the cavalier dress were still worn. A picture representing a cavalier in 1646 shows him wearing a hat like an inverted flower-pot, and without the wide rim hitherto in fashion. He wears his "band" or collar "lapping out before," and it

¹ Camden Society, "Hatton Correspondence," p. 11.

Sue Verney tells her brother about a cheap gown of "very coarse stuff," costing "but forty shillings, tailor's bill and all." Little tailoring was needed for the simplified fashions of the day. Ladies were wearing plain, pointed bodices, laced in front; wide tippets or folded kerchiefs; plain petticoats, sometimes with panniers; wide, short sleeves, and deep lawn or lace cuffs and collars. In 1654 "tippets were not so much the mode," and furs were worn instead. One of the ladies of the Hatton



VIRGINAL OF 1651. (*York Museum.*)

is tied with great "band strings" slipped through a ring. His doublet or coat is unbuttoned halfway, and so are his sleeves, to show lace cuffs and under-sleeves. His breeches have many "points" or tags at the knees. Bunches of riband are fastened on either side the breeches and in front. He wears "boot-hose tops" like loose stockings, "tied about the middle of the calf, as long as a pair of shirt-sleeves, double at the ends like a ruff-band. The tops of his boots very large, turned down as low as his spurs," and filled with lace frilling; he has "a great pair of spurs jingling like a Morrice dancer, the feet of his boots two inches



COSTUME OF CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS.

(From "A Dialogue or Parley between Prince Rupert's Dog Puddle and Tobie's Dog Pepper," 1642.)

too long," and square at the ends. The immense width of boot-top makes him straddle in his gait; in one hand is his stick, at his side his sword, and over his arm he carries a cloak. The Puritan wore his wide-brimmed, steeple-crowned beaver untrimmed. His cloak was short, and his doublet longer than the cavalier's, concealing his shirt. His knee-breeches had no ribands, tags, points, or frills. His boots were like the riding-boots of the present day. Under the Commonwealth the fashion of wearing swords went out for a time, but in 1658 a gentleman found it necessary to get one, as to be without made a man look like a bumpkin.¹ When the republic was first declared, the

¹ Hatton Correspondence, p. 11.

leaders of opinion were not in perfect agreement on the question of what dress was becoming for an ordinary and what for a festive occasion. Major-General Harrison rebuked Colonel Hutchinson for wearing a "sad-coloured cloth, trimmed with gold and silver points and buttons," which his wife calls "pretty rich, but grave, and no other than he usually wore." Harrison observed that "gold and silver and worldly bravery did not become saints." The next day the Spanish Ambassador held an audience, and Hutchinson and other gentlemen attended in plain black suits, but this time it was Harrison who arrived "in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant (foil) that one scarcely could discern the ground."

Cut off from many other amusements, the discussion of religious, political, and social questions was the republican's principal interest, and formal debates began to be held in Rhenish wine-houses, and at the end of the period in coffee-houses. Foremost among the political philosophers was Sir James Harrington, author of "Oceana" (p. 391). "That ingeniose tractat, together with his and H. Nevill's smart discourses . . . daily at coffee-houses, made many proselytes." In 1659 "his disciples and the virtuosi" met nightly at the Turk's Head and sat round an oval table with a passage in the middle for the host to deliver his coffee. The arguments in the Parliament-house were but flat to his discourse.¹ According to Evelyn, even the sermons were "of speculative and national things," so he kept his family by preference at home on Sunday, to catechise and instruct them to his own taste.²

The popular interest in public events led to a great increase

¹ Aubrey, p. 371.

² Evelyn, "Diary," August 19, 1655.



(From a woodcut in the "London Post," Feb. 4-11, 1646.)

Interest
in Politics.

News-
papers.

in the number of newspapers. News-letters and news-pamphlets had for many years met with a ready sale. Nathaniel Butter, a London stationer, in conjunction with Thomas Archer, began weekly issues of news on May 20, 1622, under the name, *The Weekly Newes from Italy, Germany, etc.*, and on September 25 Butter and Shefford issued the first quarto sheet newspaper, *Newes from most parts of Christendom*. The sheets, still bearing different titles, began to be numbered consecutively; one of May 12, 1623, bears a number (31). Unfortunately the extant sets are very incomplete.¹

The rage for news spread rapidly, and in 1625 Jonson's *Staple of News* was acted and the fashion satirised, with many personal allusions to Butter. Writing in 1626, Dr. Donne says:—"Perchance you look not so low as our ordinary Gazetta, and that tells us with a second assurance that the Duke of Brunswick is dead."

In November, 1641, the first report of the proceedings of Parliament in the form of a newspaper was issued, and the Grand Remonstrance was cried in the street.² During the civil war the competition between journalists was severe, and each party had its recognised organ. The king's paper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, edited by Birkenhead, began to be printed weekly at Oxford in 1643. Its chief aim was to make Puritans and Parliament ridiculous; its literary quality was good, but little of its news is trustworthy.³ Before long fifteen or twenty Parliamentary newspapers were printed weekly in London. Amongst these were *Mercurius Britannicus*, begun August, 1643, edited by Marchmont Needham; *Mercurius Veridicus*, the *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, and *Weekly Post*. They contain many highly coloured stories of Cavalier outrages, but as a rule competition induced writers to be careful to get the best information. In September, 1647, Needham, having changed sides, started a Royalist paper in London, *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, which had a long career before it. Most of the newspapers survived but a short time. At least 170 weekly papers are said to have been started, chiefly in London, 1642-1649.⁴ In 1649 the licensers of

¹ Mr. Sidney Lee's article "Butter," in "Dict. Nat. Biography."

² Webb, "Memorials of the Civil War in Herefordshire," i., 89.

³ Gardiner, "Civil War," I., vi. Article "Birkenhead," in "Dict. Nat. Biog."

⁴ Masson's "Milton," iv., 38, 39, 327. Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes," iv. Grant, "The Newspaper Press," i.

the press under Bradshaw's Act began a fresh series of newspapers, subsidised by Government, and officially authorised. Among the chief was *Mercurius Politicus*, by Marchmont Needham, "in defence of the Commonwealth, and for Information of the People," with an ample seasoning of ribaldry.

Private individuals, anxious about their reputations, paid the journalists for entries. Mrs. Hutchinson notes the expense Sir J. Gell was at to get himself weekly mentioned in the journals—he "kept the diurnal-makers in pension."¹ Besides political information, personalities and scurrilities, the newspapers began to print advertisements. Thus, in the *Public Advertiser* of Tuesday, June 16, 1657:

Adver-
tisements.

"In Bishopsgate Street, in Queen's Head Alley, at a Frenchman's house, is an excellent West India drink, called chocolate, to be sold, where you may have it ready at any time, and also unmade, at reasonable rates."

In 1658, *Mercurius Politicus* contains advertisements of books, rewards for the recovery of lost property, coach time-tables, and an advertisement of tea:

THIS Excellent, and by all Physicians approved, China Drink, called by the Chineans, *Tcha*, by other Nations *Tay. alia* *Tee*, is sold at the *Suitane's-head*, a Coffee-house in *Streeings* Kents by the Royal Exchange, London.

The first coffee-house had been opened, in 1652, by a Greek in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill.

Another movement, which was to revolutionise society, was the organisation of a system of stage-coaches, in April, 1658. A year previous the post had been reorganised and cheapened (p. 663).

The same age made hackney-coaches popular. According to the "Character of England," 1659, children threw dirt at private coaches:

"The carmen, who in London domineer over the streets, o'erthrow the hell-carts (for so they name the coaches), cursing and reviling at the nobles. But these are the natural effects of parity, popular libertinism, and insularly manners."

In this age of equality, the "field near the town, called Hyde Park," containing 621 acres, the popular racecourse and fashionable resort of Charles I.'s reign, was sold "for ready money,"

Hyde
Park.

¹ Firth's edition of "Colonel Hutchinson's Life," i., 181, 183.

1652. It was divided into three lots, and bought for £17,068 6s. 8d. At the Restoration the purchasers were thankful to let the Crown take it back quietly, and received no compensation. The purchaser of the lot containing the "Ring"

A Bright bay Gelding stoln from *Harfield*, in the County of *Hertford*, Sept. 23. of about 14 hand high or something more, with half his Mane shorne and a star in the Forehead, and a feather all along his Neck on the far side. A yong man with gray cloaths of about twenty years of age, middle stature, went away with him. If any can give notice to the Porter at *Salisbury-house* in the Strand, or to the White Lion in *Harfield* aforesaid, they shall be well rewarded for their pains.

(643)

Advertisement:

If any one can give notice of one *Edward Berry* being about the age of eighteen or nineteen years, of low Stature, black hair, full of pockholes in his face, he weareth a new gray suit, trimmed with green and other ribbon, a light Cinnamon colored cloak and black hat; who run away lately from his Master; they are desired to bring or send word to *Tho. Firby* Stationer at *Grays Inn* gate, who will thankfully reward them.

Advertisements.

This is to give notice, That if any persons have a minde to employ their Money in Building, they may have Four Acres of Ground, and a convenient place to build on in *Hide-Park*. And at *Mr. Talmans House* a Scrivener, in *Kings-street*, *Westminster*, or else by *Thomas Shell*, or *Francis Preſlar*, near *Hide-Park Gate*, they may have full directions.

Tork, Chester, and Exeter.

From the *George Inn* without *Aldersgate*, Stage Coach's, do continue to go and carry Passengers to the Cities of *Tork*, *Chester*, and *Exeter*, and to or from Towns in the same Roads, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at and for reasonable rates.

As also to *Wakefield*, *Leeds*, and *Hallifax*, every Friday for 40 s.

Durham and *Newcastle* upon every Monday for 3 l.

To *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, once every three weeks for 4 l. 10 s.

Dover and *Canterbury*, twice every week in two days for 15 s.

Bath and *Bristol* every Monday and Thursday for 20 s. With good Coaches, and fresh Horses in the Roads.

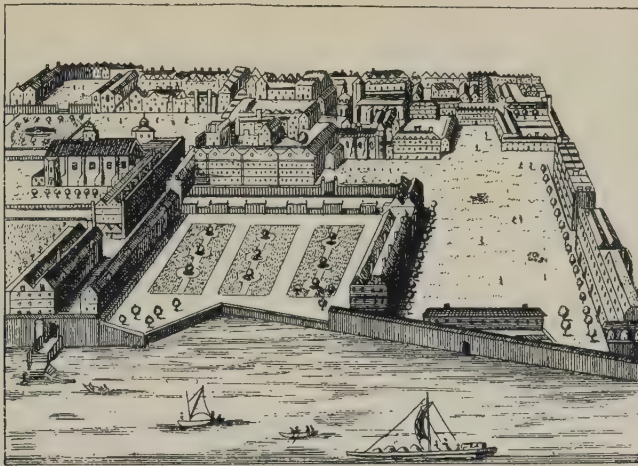
ADVERTISEMENTS FROM *MERCURIUS POLITICUS*, 1658.

leased it to "a brace of citizens," who levied a tax on coaches driving there. The official paper, *Several Proceedings*, for the week April 27—May 4, 1654, says that on May 1

"Great resorts came to Hyde Park, many hundreds of rich coaches and gallants in attire, but most shameful powdered hair men, and painted and

spotted women. . . . But His Highness the Lord Protector went not thither, nor any of the Lords of the Council."

From another paper it is known that Cromwell was there, watching a hurling-match.¹ It was there, too, that in trying to drive six-in-hand, and using the whip too violently, he fell off the box and was nearly killed.² In the same year Evelyn records that Cromwell and his partisans had "shut up and seized on Spring Garden," which lay between the gardens of St. James's Palace and Whitehall, thus leaving "persons of the best quality"



THE TEMPLE FROM THE THAMES.

(From a print of about 1650.)

only Mulberry Garden (now Buckingham Palace Gardens) as a place of refreshment, to be exceedingly cheated at,³ especially for mulberry tarts.

The measures adopted by the Cromwellian executive were not always on a heroic scale; but in all its dealings, great and small, we are reminded that it was a time when for society at large the counsel, "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off," was carried into practice. It is a counsel which heroes will give to cowards, but it is a counsel which heroes alone will put into effect.

¹ Larwood, "London Parks."

² Thurloe, "State Papers," ii., 652.

³ Evelyn, "Diary," May 10, 1654.

JAMES
COLVILLE.
Scotland.

THE Solemn League and Covenant and the Westminster Assembly were the outcome of the union of hearts cemented by the victory of Duns Law. Under the former Leslie and his veterans crossed the Tweed (1643), to play no mean part on Marston Moor, but ultimately to retire (1647) as guests that had overstayed their welcome. In the latter its authors saw an instrument for smiting the ogres of Prelacy and Popery hip and thigh, and raising over their ruins the banner of Presbytery. The issues were in both cases marred by the still more resolute and uncompromising force of Independency. A root-and-branch republic was little understood and less appreciated in the north. Nowhere did the doomed cause of royalty find more devoted victims, but their sacrifices served only to hasten the extinction of Scottish independence on that second Flodden that looks down upon Dunbar. For ten years thereafter was the Cromwellian boot held firm on the thistle, to the profit of more honest and useful growths, but such stern repression served only to effect that decay of national life which made the despotism of the later Stuarts possible.

The Pres-
byterian
Movement.

Prelacy was hopelessly scotched in the north and discredited in the south, where many were friendly to Presbytery. Milton had not yet called "Presbyter but priest writ large." The singer of Lycidas was not unfriendly to the church of his Scotch tutor, Thomas Young. One of his Smeectymnuans in the north as a Commissioner from the Parliament, was the "Maister Stevin Mershell," preacher in England, who was made a burgess of Stirling in 1642, along with Archibald Lord Lorn and Sir Harry Vane. The leaders, Henderson and Johnstone, expressed the sentiments of the hour when, resolving to make common cause with the Parliament, they drew up a religious covenant. Henderson was statesman enough to moderate his expectations. While labouring for a reform of the Church of England, "we are not to conceive that they will embrace our form. A new must be set down for all." The Westminster Assembly was the necessary complement of the Solemn League, and both were but temporary expedients. The former, unlike that spontaneous *Cri du Peuple*, the National Covenant, was narrow, doctrinaire, propagandist. Hope, shrewd King's Advocate, "scruplit at pairt of the League because I, as a subject of Scotland, cannot be

tyet to maintain the parliament of another kingdom and the liberties thereof." Its authors, while preparing to play at bowls, foresaw not the rubbers of Dunbar and Worcester. To the Westminster Assembly Scotland sent her best men. Baillie, its vivid chronicler, writes hopefully at the outset to Johnstone to "send a strong committee, as they would get the guiding of all affairs both of Church and State," naïvely adding, "Burn this free letter except ye will keep it, and *say it is burnt.*" Farther on he saw the rock ahead. "On no point expect we so much difficulty as Independency, wherewith we propose not to meddle



DUNS LAW.

till it please God to advance our army, *which we expect will much assist our arguments.*" Baillie was disappointed. Civil war is no respecter of divines or divinities. It would be hard to exaggerate, however, the influence of the Westminster Assembly on the social life of Scotland. Its creed was in harmony with the main stream of Christian teaching; it fashioned a ritual that was in sympathy with the national character; its Catechism long served as a logical training for the Scottish intellect. Its psalmody, though the work of an Englishman, may compare in fervour and homely acceptance among bygone generations with the heritage of popular song.

Before the Westminster Assembly closed, two notable

Montrose. Royalist movements deeply affected Scotland. Montrose, though no Highlandman himself, was richly endowed with qualities that recommended him as a leader to the semi-savage freebooters of the north. Flashing out at a dozen different places, feeding his half-clad levies of wild Gaels and wilder Irish with the licence of a pack of wolves, ever trusting to the dirk, the targe, and the push of pike, supplementing his poor stock of arms with the bow and the arrow, and his poorer equipment of horse with the swift-footed Sons of the Mist, he scattered the ranks of the feebly led Covenanters, and made the homes of many honest Blue-caps desolate. At length, foiled in attaching the Gordons to his cause or securing a single stronghold, excommunicated by the Kirk and detested by the peasantry whom he had harried and the burgesses whom he had pillaged, he turned southwards to join hands with the English Royalists. His surprise at Philiphaugh (1645) shows both the distrust that withheld information from him, and his own bad generalship, for he knew that his conqueror, David Leslie, was approaching. The victory sent him into exile, and brought down on his followers the vengeance of the Covenanters, who remembered only too well Inverlochy, Auldearn, and Kilsyth. The drum-and-trumpet historians have made more of such wretched guerilla warfare than it deserved. In the pages of eulogists like Wishart, Guthrie, Napier, and Aytoun, we have nought but the romance of the situation. In the burgh records and diaries, written face to face with the stern realities, it is heart-breaking to read the pitiful tale of strippings, sackings, burnings, pillagings, and all such unnatural horrors. Long after, many a burgh petitioned the Estates to pity its *ruinat* condition through that "excommunicat rebel, James Graham."

**Surrender
of the
King.**

The cause of the king having been rendered hopeless after the failures of his devoted lieutenants, Ormonde and Montrose, he surrendered to the Scots at Newark, from whom he passed into the hands of the Sectaries. Salmasius, with more of point than fairness, said, "The Presbyterians held the king down while the Independents cut his throat." Buckle boldly calls the incident a sale, adducing in support his unsifted array of authorities. The question was mixed up with that of arrears of pay, but this was settled in August, 1645, payment was voted early in September, while negotiations respecting the king were

not concluded till the following January. Not till a month after the settlement of the arrears did the Parliament claim the sole disposal of the king's person. He had himself repeatedly desired to be near his Parliament. On a review of the whole question, Hallam, and even the Royalist Sir George Mackenzie, entirely exonerated the Scots, whose subsequent sacrifices for an unworthy race were so conspicuous. Baillie, who spent eight or nine days with Charles at Newcastle in very free intercourse, refrained from influencing him, observing "his



CHARLES II. AND THE KIRK.

(From a satirical print of 1651.)

unhappy wilfulness and the mischievous instruments that feed his madness."

Hamilton, Montrose's ever-suspicious rival, emulated his career only to meet with his fate. The Estates, now entirely controlled by the Moderates, who were willing to compromise with the king, and who believed with Baillie that "the body of English were over-weary long ago of Parliament and the ever-hated Sectaries," raised the largest army Scotland had yet turned out. The movement was bitterly opposed by the extreme party that ruled the General Assembly. The Engagers had little compassion on the western and Covenanting counties,

The Engagement.

so that places like Lanark and Glasgow had a pitiful tale to tell of the movement, which swept southwards like an avenging scourge by Dumfries and Carlisle, only to be ignominiously wiped out by Cromwell at Preston.

The
First Dis-
ruption.

The Engagement showed the first rift in the Covenanting lute. In the early days of the National Covenant, the capital and the eastern Lowlands inspired and directed the movement. All this was now transferred to the western hillmen, the true Protesters against malignancy, and faithful upholders of the



JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF
MONTROSE.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Blue Banner. Out of these elements the astute Argyll and Johnstone organised the Whigamore Raid on Edinburgh, a bold *coup* which substituted for the weak-kneed Estates that got up the Engagement, an assembly controlled by these leaders in concert with the Independents. They called Cromwell, then at Berwick (October, 1648), to their counsels, and in three days set up the Government on Republican lines. A self-denying ordinance was found in the Act of Classes, which purged the public service of every trace of malignancy and moderatism by separating good from bad

Covenanters. The vacant offices were filled up without reference to royal authority, thus sweeping away the last relic of Prerogative. But the death of the king produced a swift reaction. In spite, however, of the prompt proclamation of Charles II. as king, the conferences at the Hague, the landing in Scotland, and the coronation at Scone, the western Whigs refused to treat with un-Covenanted Royalty.

Montrose
Executed.

Montrose was with Charles, and prepared for any rash venture; but the Commissioners at the Hague stipulated that the king should abandon him as unworthy to come near his person or into the society of good men. Lanerick (now Hamilton) refused to come into the same room with him,

even before the king. Clarendon reports a conversation with Lauderdale that gives the severest condemnation to be found anywhere of Montrose. All the while the double-dealing king was writing thus to him: "Be not startled with reports as if I otherwise inclined to Presbytery than when I left you. I am upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever on your undertakings and endeavours for my service." To many the falsehood was transparent when, after the capture of Montrose, Lothian reported in Parliament, "His Majesty is noways sorry that James Graham was defeated, in respect as



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE EXECUTION OF MONTROSE.

he (Charles) said he had made invasion without and contrary to his demands." In his natural duplicity Charles found resources to enable him to swallow even the Covenant itself. Nothing, however, but the combination of fanaticism and partisan trickery could have blinded the Scottish leaders to such a sorry sham. The fate of Montrose—betrayed and sold by a petty Highland chieftain such as those who had been the agents of his cruelties—cast a lurid light on the pitiful and sometimes ludicrous appearances of Charles in Scotland during the summer of 1650. There is no evidence that the fall of this brave northern Strafford touched the Merry Monarch. His philosophy of life left no room for the sensibility of his father. "He had an appearance," says Burnet, "of gentleness in outward deportment, but he seemed to have no tenderness in his nature,

and in the end of his life became cruel." The noble self-sacrifice of Montrose for a master so worthless throws the halo of romance round a career in itself sufficiently romantic and touching. Not every hero-martyr has undesignedly written his own epitaph in lines so pregnant and poetical as these:—

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all,"

Nicoll, the Edinburgh notary, has graphically sketched the two closing scenes in that fall—the mean entry into the capital, surrounded with everything that was sordid and degrading, and the tragic exit from the fatal ladder amid the bravery of gorgeous raiment that glorified the hangman's rope. This surely was not out of keeping with the dramatic contrasts of such a life. Montrose was as fanatical in his blind devotion to royal prerogative as the meanest of the opponents he so thoroughly despised could be to the Covenant. His call to arms on the death of Charles I.:

"I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds,"

is worthy of the brutal frankness of Marat. The fine qualities of his nature, the fascinating charm of his poetic and chivalrous youth, these were perverted by a false conception of loyalty. Plutarch and the frothy rhetoric of pagan Rome possessed him as they did Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland.

Dunbar.

Scotland was now (1650–51) making her last stand for her Stuart king against Cromwell, disappointed with his quondam allies and with the ungrateful and stubborn country. "I thought I should have found a conscientious people and a barren country. About Edinburgh it is as fertile for corn as any part of England, but the people generally are so given to the most impudent lying and frequent swearing as is incredible." Disgusted with the pragmatical government of the Kirk, he appeals to the General Assembly: "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken." Events were now hurrying on the catastrophe

of Dunbar. Terrible was the fate of that shattered army. To the governor of Newcastle Cromwell consigns "500 poor wretches of prisoners, very many of whom will die of their wounds or be permanently disabled." Only too glad to devour raw cabbages on the march at Morpeth, thereafter penned in Durham cathedral, many died of a grievous pest; while the remnant were sold as slaves in America. Scotland was now at Cromwell's mercy. The High Kirk of St. Giles was reserved for Lambert and his brother fanatics, who preached with sword



MOUND FROM WHICH CROMWELL RECONNOITRED THE ENEMY'S POSITION
AT DUNBAR.

and pistols beside them. Cromwell, like any bigoted High Churchman, refused to hear the Presbyterian preachers, discoursing in his own quarters as the Spirit moved him, as if it were an ague, quoth Nicoll. "He made stables of all the the churches," says Balfour, 'and burnt all the seats and pews in them; he rifled the manses and destroyed the corns." His troopers managed to burn the best part of Holyrood; the furniture of the College, High School, and three kirks was broken down for fuel, besides the plenishing of many houses in town and country. The troopers carried themselves insolently in Edinburgh, and brawls were frequent. Baillie, Nicoll,

and the Burgh Records speak of an armed possession such as had not been known since the days of Longshanks.

Raid of
Alyth.

The clever generalship of David Leslie during the summer of 1651 greatly disconcerted Cromwell, so ill the while as to be confined to his coach, but by an adroit movement across Fife to Perth he headed the enemy southwards. He anticipated Worcester with equanimity. The issue was of little moment, as the real mischief had been done at Dunbar. Two days before it there occurred two events of far more consequence. The Nationalists had moved their headquarters and much wealth to Dundee, thus putting two broad firths between them and the Sectaries. But Cromwell had left behind him a lieutenant, who gets off even more easily with historians than his sanguinary master. Monk made of unhappy Dundee a Scottish Drogheda. The details are utterly horrible. Over the Sidlaws to northwards, in the modest Strathmore hamlet of Alyth, the Committee of the Estates were trying to govern, when one of Monk's colonels pounced upon them, and shipped off the whole Cabinet to a long imprisonment in the Tower. Among them was Lauderdale, as yet a "plant of grace" corresponding as Wm. Reid with his "reverend and worthie" friend, Robert Baillie. Did he ever talk with Albemarle in the gay days of the Restoration about the Sack of Dundee and the Raid of Alyth?

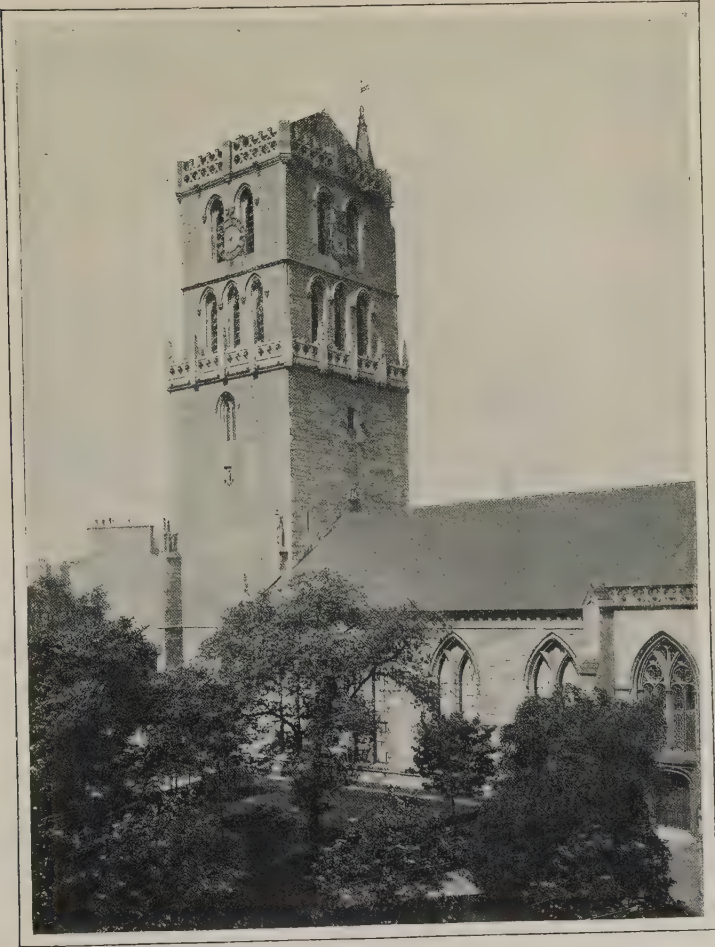
Government,
1652 1660.

The Cromwellian usurpation was a period of political effacement for Scotland. Malignant remnants rose feebly in the Highlands, to the delight of cattle-lifters and horse-stealers; but Monk quickly suppressed all this, planting strong garrisons over the land. The work was so completely done that after 1654 the army of ten to twelve thousand was reduced by half. The land-tax was lowered from £10,000 to £6,000 a month. In three years the excise nearly doubled itself. To the public revenue, £143,642 in 1658, England contributed an equivalent sum, and the whole was spent within the country, to the enormous advantage of trade and industry. Cromwell was also the first to effect an incorporating union and give the country anything like a popular representation in Parliament. The Union was effected in 1654 on the enlightened basis of equal trading privileges. Thirty members from Scotland sat in the united Parliament in London, mostly, however, English officers and Government officials. Eight English Commis-

1660]

sioners, sitting after 1655 at Dalkeith, formed an Executive Cabinet.

For the Court of Session was substituted a commission of



THE OLD STEEPLE, DUNDEE.

four English judges, to whom three Scotsmen were added. To one of their successors is attributed the saying, "Deil thank them, a wheen kinless loons!" in reality a compliment to them as being proof against the time-honoured abuses of bribery and

Law and
Order.

kinship. Anticipating the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions by a century, they erected local Courts Baron on the model of the English rural justices. The sheriffs had to hold Quarter Sessions, and their decisions were liable to be reviewed by the higher judges on circuit. Witch prosecutions were greatly relaxed, and, generally, flogging was substituted for what, under the old *régime*, would often have been the death penalty. Burnet allows that "good justice was done, vice suppressed and punished. We reckon these eight years a time of peace and prosperity." Lamont tells that before "a jury of Englishes that satt at Stirling witches had liberty to go home upon caution given, and adulterers were fined £5 sterling." Free-



SEAL OF SCOTLAND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE.

holders annoyed the court by refusing to attend the jury-trials. "The Englishes were more indulgent and merciful to the Scots nor were the Scots to their awn countrymen and nychtbouris." To a quasi-malignant like Baillie the situation seemed gloomy enough. "The great barons have suffered from death in battle or on the block. Their estates are forfeited or given to English officers. Some barons *kept not the calsey* for fear of the bailiffs. Argyll, almost drowned in debt, is friendly with the English but in hatred with the country he courts. Loudoun lives *like ane outlaw* about Atholl. Warriston, having refunded much of what he got by places, lives privately in hard enough condition, much hated by most and neglected by all except a few Protesters. There is a strange want of money, for our towns have no considerable trade, and what there is the English possess. Victual is extraordinarily cheap. We have

no baron courts, and the sheriffs have little skill, for common being English soldiers. The Lords of Session are a few English inexperienced in our law, and in twelve months have done little or nothing. *Great are our sufferings through want of our Covenant.*²² Nicoll bewails the sad condition through poverty and heavy burdens, but allows that there is good order. In 1659 it is reported that a man may ride over all Scotland with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket, what he could not have done these five hundred years.

The national collapse after Dunbar and Worcester left two great parties to struggle together—the Protesters, or Remonstrants, and the Resolutioners. The former protested against certain resolutions of recent assemblies in favour of the king. The object of both was power to *purge and plant the church*. The Protesters sent Patrick Gillespie, Principal of Glasgow College by the favour of Cromwell, to London with this object. To checkmate him went that born diplomatist, the minister of Crail, as yet very dear to Baillie, who gratefully says:—"The great instrument of God to cross the evil designs of the Remonstrants to exercise their tyranny among us has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, James Sharp." Upon the whole, Cromwell preferred the Protesters. Their opponents continued to pray for the king in the face of an edict to the contrary. Baillie's practice was to conform. The conduct of the non-conforming party brought on a swift punishment. In 1653 a Cromwellian colonel treated that popular and godly parliament the General Assembly to his master's stern "Get thee gone!" He "besett the church with some rattes of musketers and a troop of horse," marched the members ignominiously a mile out of town to the quarry-holes on Bruntsfield Links, and there at the foot of the common gallows set them about their business. The two prelatie Stuart kings had never dared to do so much.

Nicoll reports very unfavourably of the effect of all this din of strife on public morals, "every man seeking his own ends under a cloak of piety whilk did cover much knavery. The ministers made their pulpits speak against one another. They took care of increase of stipends, but exercised pride and cruelty to one another, showing little charity or mercy to the weak." The High Courts had detected much *falset* and

Church
Politics.

State
of the
Country.

cheating, followed by daily hanging, scourging, and maiming. "One fatal year was 1650 for false notars and witnesses." Lamont speaks of a solemn fast in 1653, "maist pairt of the people growing worse and worse." Culprits, old and young, were every few months burned on the Castle Hill for unnatural offences, or for witchcraft, "confessing alliance with Satan." "There is," says Baillie, "much witchery up and down the land, though the English be too sparing to try it, yet some they execute." Kirkton, on the other hand, gives a glowing account of the spiritual and social condition at the king's return. "At no time did Christ's gospel so flourish in Scotland as under the Usurper."

Town
Life.

The English military rule improved public health and good order. In Edinburgh householders had to hang out lanterns at doors and windows from six to nine o'clock, making "the winter night almost as light as the day." The magistrates petitioned for the remission of fines, amounting to £50, for neglecting regulations for cleaning streets and lanes, and against the throwing out of foul water. But even before the coming of the English many burghs had striven hard to keep the streets clear of refuse heaps and noisome trades, and to remove *ruinat* houses. "Causey mail" was an old tax for maintaining the roadways, and for cleaning these there was the "laydell dewtie callit the geat (street) dychtingis," an excise on meal sold in market by non-freemen and applied to street cleaning. All this was due, not to improved public taste, but to fear of the plague, ever present in times of civil war. The visitations of 1645-6-7-8 were specially grievous.

The
Clergy.

Puritanism affected Scotland more thoroughly and lastingly than it ever did England. There the struggle was for the constitutional liberty of the many—in Scotland for the covenanted privileges of the few. The Puritan of the south was, on the whole, practical and human; his brother of the north was introspective and *dour*. Clerical influence was never so strong as is so often assumed. Laymen played a very important part in the appointment of the clergy and in supervision of them by presbyterial visitations. There is no reason to suppose that the clergy were different then from the class out of which they sprang. The children of light are ever too prone to admire their own side of the shield. The saintly Rutherford

held toleration of all religions to be blasphemy, and inhospitality to false teachers the most solemn duty. He repressed gaiety because Christ never laughed on earth, but wept, as we read. Durham thought jesting incompatible with a holy and serious life. Gray spoke of the blessed work of weaning the affections from mundane things. But these are odd psychological phenomena like the devout imaginings of Bunyan's autobiography. The austere earnestness of these men unfortunately made the times cruel to false teachers and sorcerers, both regarded as emissaries of Satan. Blackhall's narrative shows the hard lot of the Papists. Even the gentle Baillie has a horror of the fury, irrational passions, and bodily convulsions of the Quakers, and regards their late increase as



BRANKS.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.)

the just recompense of admitting the beginnings of error. The witch trials of the time too often show the clergy as credulous and cruel enough to countenance the most shocking inhumanity.

The simple worship of Reformation times suffered much deterioration from contact with the wild doings of the English Sectaries, even though the Westminster Assembly did so much for Church order. Then began the practice of extempore prayers, long harangues by a succession of preachers who regarded themselves as inspired, open-air gatherings for Communion or Fast Days of Humiliation, which were used as huge political demonstrations, especially by the Protesters of 1651, who thought everything was wrong in Church and State. All these innovations were discouraged by the General Assembly and by the more sober Resolutioners. The clergy vied with each other in fervid spiritual displays, not sparing themselves

Church
Services.

any more than their hearers. John Menzies used to change his shirt always after preaching, and to wet two or three napkins with his tears every sermon. John Carstares's "band [neckcloth] in Sabbath," says Wodrow, "would have been all wet with his tears, as if it had been *doukit* [ducked], before he was done with the first prayer." With all this their hearers were deeply impressed.

Manners.

The doings of the clerical censors throw much light on public manners. It would be easy to exaggerate with them the iniquities of the time, for they too often forgot the sensible maxim that law ignores trifles. Moreover, prudes, as proctors, would be ever prone to let zeal outrun discretion. There is no reason to suppose that the animalism, present in every age, was so rampant then as in the full-blooded days of the Renaissance. Yet the attention given by kirk-sessions to the Seventh Commandment would lead us to assume that it was the most violated of the Decalogue. Probably a sense of their own importance made these clerics put the Fourth in the next position. Each servant, or even the goodman, heard banning and swearing was to be fined for behoof of the poor. To restrain the youngsters, every family must keep a *palmar* to punish on the hands. Acts both of the Privy Council and of the General Assembly strove to restrain excesses at Penny Bridals in drinking and feasting, not, as Buckle inferred, from Puritanic aversion to gaiety, but from the immoralities that these frivolities cloaked. Similar occasions for unseemly riot often occurred at funerals. The rustic taste highly appreciated these functions, carefully discriminating between them. "Ye can hae little rael pleasure in a merrige, for ye never ken hoo it'll end; but there's nae risk about a beerial," said a thoughtful gravedigger. Another social custom struck at was the drinking of healths. The Assembly, in 1646, warned the clergy, along with dissoluteness in wearing the hair and in *shaking at the knees*, to beware of tipling and untimous drinking in taverns, and to forbear drinking healths, as Satan's snare leading to excess. The extreme formality of the time made such customs a still greater snare. Even in externals punctiliousness was the rule. It was bad manners to stand covered before superiors. Brodie, in his "Diary," desired to be humbled under the proud reproof he gave to John Hasbin

for holding on his bonnet irreverently and disrespectfully before his (Brodie's) mother, "*For what ill did it do her?*" What emphasised the practice was that the young and menials generally went bareheaded. The goodman, on the contrary, rarely was uncovered, even indoors. Baillie, discussing the celebration of Communion, says, "some thought hats there significant of table honour, and not as children."



CAP AND GOWN OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.)

The times were more unfavourable to culture than in England. What had for centuries served as elementary education was done in the Sang School — really a Church institution. The two offices of Reader and Sangster were long combined, but, the Westminster Assembly not recognising the reader, he in time became the precentor, or leader of psalmody. The old version of the Psalms almost always had printed tunes, implying a knowledge of music. When the new version was introduced, it was not easy to follow; hence the custom of

Culture:
Schools.

reading out the line. The Scotch Divines at Westminster thought this was not needed by the state of education in Scotland, but the Directory of 1645 recommended it. That rural schools occasionally aspired to something higher than psalm-singing and repetition of the Catechism and Pater-noster, and the Creed, is shown by the trial exercises of a candidate for a school in Strathbogie. He had to expound Horace, Book IV., Ode 3, grammatically, logically, and rhetorically. There was no lack of enactments in favour of education, but they had remained virtually a dead letter. The larger burghs had grammar schools that were regularly visited, and attempts were made, not always with success, to keep them in good order. The High School of Edinburgh had a curriculum of five years, during which Latin alone was used after the rudimentary stage, and old-world text-books such as Despauter, Cordery, and Buchanan. Greek was rarely taught. In keeping with the narrow economics of the age, corporations repressed the *Scottis* preparatory schools for the vernacular in favour of the grammar schools. The heads of schools were *maisters*, the usual title of graduates, and the ushers were *doctors*. It is a hopeful sign to find the clergy sensible of the benighted state of the Highlands. The Assembly ordained (1649) a collection to keep forty Highland boys at school, but little was done till fully a century later. James I., as shown by the Privy Council Registers, required that the Highland lairds for future good conduct "sall send their bairnis being past the age of nine to schools in the Lowlands, that they may be instructed to wreate, reid, and speik English" (1617).

Art and
Literature.

The Muses are silenced by the din of civil strife. When James I. came north in 1617, the colleges vied with each other in producing for his delectation the best Latinity, the subtlest logic, and the most learned philosophy. Nicoll's account of the reception given to Monk, in 1654, presents a striking contrast, consisting of a great feast with three hours of fireworks at night. Glasgow was glad to get a house-painter and a printer from Edinburgh, though its noble college was then being designed and built. The capital added to its attractions two fine buildings—the Parliament Hall and Heriot's Hospital. The latter still remains substantially as it left the builder's hands in 1659. It was a

superb monument to its founder, a credit to its designer, and a notable example in the life of Scotland. Well might Nicoll say it was not "ane ordinar hospital," like the wretched correction houses and spitals of small burghs. The art of George Jamesone, Scotland's first painter, was at this time conspicuous in many baronial halls. Such literature as there was reflected the times. The pious doggrel of the Whigs and the coarse pasquils of the Malignants illustrate manners, but are not literature. The Church question engrossed the best minds.



Photo : A. A. Inglis, Edinburgh.

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL, EDINBURGH.

Spottiswood (1565-1639) had told his story, from the prelatie point of view, with fairness and moderation. David Calderwood (1575-1650), on the popular side, has far more learning, vigour, and character, while his picture of the times will always be valuable. Samuel Rutherford (1600-61) had the luck to make the only contribution from Scotland to what must pass for the English literature of that day. His "Lex Rex," with marked intolerance of spirit and indecency of invective, strips prerogative of its pretensions. At the Restoration it was burnt at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh by the hangman. Its author would not have escaped had he not been then lying on his death-bed at St. Andrews. The most readable survival

from this controversial period is the "Letters" (1637-62) of Robert Baillie (1599-1662). He is always entertaining, shrewd, and conspicuously fair and truthful. His style is one of the best specimens of the "Scottis" of the educated classes. He wrote equally well in Latin, taught Hebrew, and was well read in contemporary controversy. There is no trace in him of what is most interesting to us in the literature of his time. He once mentions *blind Milton*, but in no literary connection.

P. W.
JOYCE.
Ireland,
1640-1660.

AFTER the departure of Strafford (p. 272) from Ireland in 1640 the Catholics all over the country were in a state of dangerous exasperation, due partly to the Plantations, and partly to the measures taken to suppress their religion, while the evasion of the promised graces made them despair of redress by constitutional means. There had been confiscations and Plantations continuously for more than thirty years, so that no man could tell where they might stop; and there was a widespread fear that the whole country might be cleared of its people to make room for new colonists. Besides all this, those who had been dispossessed, or their children now grown up, were waiting in sullen discontent for the first opportunity to fall on the settlers and regain their homes and lands.

The Re-
bellion
of 1641.

Some of the Catholic gentry, under the leadership of Rory O'Moore, a gentleman of unblemished character, held meetings and resolved to attempt the redress of their grievances by insurrection; and they were led to expect aid from France, where many of their kindred had risen to positions of influence. The rising was to take place simultaneously all over the country in October, 1641. The chief fortified towns were to be seized, the leading gentry were to be made prisoners, and strict orders were issued that there was to be no bloodshed except in open fight. In Dublin, however, the authorities got timely warning, and took instant measures for the safety of the city; but the insurrection broke out successfully in the north, and at the end of a week all Ulster was in the hands of the rebels, who had an irregular army of 30,000, under Sir Phelim O'Neill. During this first week the original instructions were carried out, and there was hardly any bloodshed. But the victims of the

Plantations broke at last through all restraint and attacked the settlers, of whom great numbers were killed, and dreadful outrages were perpetrated, chiefly by persons wreaking vengeance for their own private wrongs. Multitudes were turned out half-naked from their homes, and great numbers—men, women, and children—endeavouring to reach their friends perished by the road-sides of hunger and hardship. Many Protestants were protected by individual Catholics, and the priests exerted themselves, often at the risk of their lives, sometimes hiding the poor fugitives under the very altar-cloths. On the Government side the military were sent marching through various parts of the country and committed horrible cruelties, slaughtering great numbers of peaceable, innocent people who had no hand in the rebellion.

After the first wild burst the conflict settled down into something like civilised warfare. In 1642 there were four distinct parties in the country, each with an army—the Old Irish Catholics, under General Owen Roe O'Neill, who sought for total separation from England; the "Old English" Catholics, under General Preston, who wanted religious liberty, but not separation; the Puritans in Ulster, under General Munro, who were on the side of the Parliament as against King Charles I.; and, lastly, the Royalists, the party of the king, chiefly Protestants of Dublin and the Pale, at the head of whom—later on—was the Marquis of Ormonde.

Between the two Catholic parties there was much jealousy and distrust; and in order to bring about union, a General Assembly or Parliament of the most distinguished men of both sides was convened. This is known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. For some time after this the two parties worked in harmony, and, disclaiming the title of rebels, they declared



ENGLISH SOLDIER RAISED FOR SERVICE IN IRELAND.

(From a contemporary satirical print.)

The
Confed-
eration of
Kilkenny.



ATROCITIES OF 1641.
("Ireland," 1646.)

Parliament for negotiating with the "rebels," he denied it point blank. Meantime, Preston carried on the war in Leinster against the Royalists; and in Ulster, in 1646, Owen Roe O'Neill defeated Munro in a great battle at Benburb on the Blackwater. But this brilliant victory was nullified by want of harmony between the two Catholic parties, for dissension grew up again and ultimately ruined their cause.

In 1647 Ormonde delivered up Dublin to the Parliamentarians and went to France. But he soon after returned, and again placing himself at the head of the Royalists, he finally made peace with the Confederates on the main condition that the penal laws against the Catholics should be repealed. But all this came too late. About a fortnight afterwards King Charles was beheaded. This caused somewhat of a counter movement in Ireland, where many who had hitherto been Parliamentarians now took

themselves on the side of the king. The king, on his part, was anxious to come to terms with them as an aid against the Parliament, and took steps with that object; but Ormonde, who secretly sympathised with the Parliament, prevented any agreement, and persisted in treating the Confederates as rebels. But the king himself was also a double dealer, for when brought to task by the



ATROCITIES OF 1641.
("Ireland," 1646.)

the Royalist side; and the combined Royalist party proclaimed the Prince of Wales king as Charles II. They continued the war against the Parliamentarians, and gained some successes. But at length Ormonde, attempting to retake Dublin, was defeated in 1649 by the Parliamentary governor—Colonel Jones—in a great battle near Rathmines.

As the greater part of Ireland still remained in the hands of the Royalists, the Parliament sent over Oliver Cromwell as Lord Lieutenant and commander of the forces in Ireland. He landed at Dublin in August, 1649, with an army of 13,000 men, accompanied by Ireton, his son-in-law, as second in command. From Dublin he marched against Drogheda, which was garrisoned with 3,000 Royalist troops, chiefly English. Two attempts to storm were repulsed, but the third succeeded; on which the whole garrison, with the commander and a great number of townspeople, were massacred. He next appeared before Wexford, which was well fortified and garrisoned with 3,000 troops. A strong castle near the outer wall was betrayed by its commander, which enabled a party of the besiegers to enter the town and open the gates. The garrison defended themselves for a time, but were at last overpowered and slaughtered, together with a mixed crowd of men, women, and children. The fate of Drogheda and Wexford produced such a terror that many of the chief garrisons of the south surrendered.

After a short rest he renewed the campaign in January, 1650,



MAGDALENE STEEPLE, DROGHEDA.
(Showing the damage done by Cromwell's
cannon to the battlements.)

Most towns he came to were given up on summons, and when he met with serious resistance he generally executed the garrisons. He soon succeeded in reducing nearly all the south parts of the island; and seeing the country now almost subdued, he sailed for England in May, 1650, leaving Ireton to finish the war. Limerick, after a valiant defence, was betrayed by one of its officers; and Ireton took possession in October, 1651, permitting the garrison to march away unmolested. The surrender of Galway, in May, 1652, virtually completed the conquest of the country; and thus came to an end the great rebellion commenced eleven years before.

Cromwell's
Planta-
tions.

During this Cromwellian campaign the people suffered from pestilence, which carried off great numbers all over the country. But a worse scourge than even this was in store for them, for now came the cruellest Plantation of all. The English Government—at this time entirely in the hands of the Parliament—affected to look upon Ireland as all forfeited by conquest; and in 1652 they passed an Act to dispose of the Irish people. The whole of the inhabitants of the three provinces, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, except the poorer sort—small farmers, tradesmen, labourers, etc., who would be needed for the settlers—were ordered to transport themselves across the Shannon into Connaught and Clare, where they were to receive small allotments of ground that had been left waste. The lands thus rendered vacant were given to Cromwell's soldiers, and to those who had advanced money to carry on the war. In this terrible migration of families mostly accustomed to a life of easy comfort, great numbers of men, women, and children perished of hardship and want. Many of the younger men, instead of migrating, formed themselves into bands of "Tories" or outlaws, plundered and killed the settlers whenever they could, and were themselves hunted down and killed by settlers and soldiers. There were widows and orphans everywhere after the war; these were hunted and brought forth from their hiding-places for a worse fate; and thousands of women, boys, and girls were shipped off to the West Indies to be sold as slaves.

The exodus across the Shannon went on from 1652 to 1654; but it was found impossible to clear the gentry completely out of the three provinces. Many settled down among the hills and other remote places, and many became tenants on their own

lands under the new settlers. The Irish Royalist soldiers to the number of 34,000 left Ireland and enlisted in the service of various Continental countries. The laws against Catholics were put in force with unsparing severity; but the clergy remained with their flocks, though with the utmost difficulty and at perpetual risk of their lives.

A brief statement may here be made anticipatory of the condition of Ireland after the accession of Charles II. The Irish Catholics had long fought for the Stuarts: and, crushed and banished as they now were, they had eagerly wished for the Restoration, confident of gaining their rights. But Charles was a selfish and ungrateful king, and once safe on the throne, he gave himself little trouble about those who had befriended him, so that the Catholics received scant justice. A "Court of Claims" was, however, constituted in 1663 to try the cases; and all Catholics who could prove themselves "innocent" of any connection with the rising of 1641, and all Protestants, without any conditions, were to be restored: any settlers displaced by this arrangement to be "reprimed" by getting land elsewhere. But as nearly all were able to prove "innocence," and as the court was found to restore too many, its operations were soon restricted by an "Act of Explanation," under which the settlers agreed to relinquish one-third of their possessions. After much wrangling, matters settled down, and the ultimate result was this: that whereas before the Cromwellian Plantation the Catholics possessed about two-thirds of all the arable lands of the country, after this final arrangement they had only one-third. There remained great numbers of Catholic gentry who were never restored, most of whom, having no houses, implements, or capital to start with, sank at once into hopeless poverty.

The
Restora-
tion.

The great majority of the lower and middle classes of the new colonists, like those of earlier times (Vol. III., p. 410), gradually intermarried with the people—nearly all Catholics—among whom they settled, so that in less than two generations they had become in great measure absorbed among the old natives, whether of Irish or English blood, and had adopted their language, religion, and habits.

GENERAL HISTORY.

1642-1649.—Besides the well-known books (Clarendon, Whitelocke, May, Sprigg, Burnet, Baillie) there is much to be gathered from the publications of learned societies (Camden, Archæological, Oxford Historical, etc.), from the various State Papers, and from articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *English Historical Review*. Among modern books, Brodie, Lingard, Hallam, and Ranke have each a certain value, and can be supplemented by Carlyle, *Cromwell*; Masson, *Milton*; F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*; Firth's editions of Hutchinson, Ludlow, and the Clarke papers, and Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*. This last gives the fullest, most critical, and most authoritative account of the whole period. Side by side with it, reference should be made to Gardiner's indispensable *Documents of the Puritan Revolution* (2nd ed. 1899). Interesting details are often to be found in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the *Verney Papers*, Ellis's *Original Letters*, and Sanford's *Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*. The Constitutional history of the Long Parliament is to be found in the records of Parliament, and in Hallam, Ranke, and Gardiner's *Great Civil War*. See also the works of John Morley, President Roosevelt, and J. F. Firth on *Cromwell*. The lines of party divisions, social, religious, and territorial, during the war, have to be worked out from a multitude of local publications (e.g. those of the Oxford Historical Society) and personal memoirs (e.g. the *Verney Papers*). See also Kingston, *East Anglia and the Great Civil War*; Philipps, *War in the Welsh Marches*; T. W. Webb, *Civil War in Herefordshire*. J. Waylen, *The House of Cromwell*, gives an account of the family and descendants of the Protector.

1649-1660.—On Cromwell's domestic policy the works of Gardiner, Hallam, Guizot, and Carlyle, supplemented with Ludlow's *Memoirs*. On his foreign policy, besides the work of Whitelocke, much light is thrown by Ranke. Chéruel's volumes on the *Minority of Louis XIV.* and *Macarini and his Ministry* will be found useful. See also Martin, *History of France*, and the *Dictionary of National Biog.*, art. "Cromwell."

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Warfare.—Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, and *Great Civil War*; Firth, *Cromwell's Army*; and the works mentioned in the text.

Religion.—*The Church*: The works of Heylin and the chief theologians of the age; Clarendon's, May's, and other contemporary histories; a mass of memoirs and pamphlets; W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth*; *Presbyterians and Independents*: Waddington, *Congregational History*, vol. ii.; Stoughton, *Church of the Commonwealth*, 2 vols.; Masson, *Life of Milton*, vols. ii., iii., and iv.; Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*. *Quakers*: *Journal of George Fox*; R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*; Frederic Storrs Turner, *The Quakers*; T. Hodgkin, *George Fox*.

The Navy.—The Dartmouth Correspondence; Pepys, *Diary*, *Miscellanies*, and *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy*; Byng's *Journal* (Camden Society); Charnock, *Naval Architecture*; Edge, *History of the Royal Marines*, vol. i.; Derrick, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*; Colliber, *Columna Rostrata*; *The Diary of Henry Teonge* (pub. 1825); J. Cowley, *Sailor's Companion* (1740); Falconer, *Marine Dictionary*; *Correspondence of James II.*; Burchett, *Naval History*; Lediard, *Naval History*.

Industry and Commerce and General Literature.—See list appended to c. xiii.; also L. Wolf, *Manasseh ben Israel's Visit to Oliver Cromwell* (Jewish Hist. Soc.).

Theological Literature.—The works of the great divines mentioned and a mass of contemporary pamphlets. See also J. A. Carr, *Life and Times of James Ussher*, 1896.

Science.—As in c. xiii. For the philosophical movement generally, see Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*. The account of Hobbes's system, especially of his relation to his predecessors and successors, follows that of Croom Robertson, *Hobbes* (Philosophical Classics). As to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, cf. W. R. Sorley, in *Mind*, New Series, No. 12. See also Gooch, *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*.

Social Life.—Evelyn, *Diary, Correspondence; Character of England* (ascribed to Evelyn); *Verney Memoirs*, ed. by Lady Verney; *Autobiography of Anne, Lady Halkett* (Camden Society); *Autobiography of Mrs. Alice Thornton* (Surtees Society); *Fairfax, Memorials, Correspondence; Hatton Family Correspondence, 1601–1704* (Camden Society); *Letters of Brilliana Lady Harley* (Camden Society); *Harley Family Correspondence*, in *Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission; Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Firth; *Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, ed. Firth; *Earl of Shaftesbury, Memoirs*; *Ludlow, Memoirs*, ed. Firth; *Noble, House of Cromwell*; *Masson, Life of Milton*; *Reresby, Memoirs*; *Webb, Memorials of the Civil War* (Herefordshire); *Sanford, Studies of the Great Rebellion; Traets in Harleian Miscellany*; *Ashton, Satire in the Seventeenth Century*; *Defoe, Memoirs of a Cavalier* (a historical romance); *Neal, Puritans, London*.—*Larwood, London Parks*, with authorities already cited. *Newspapers*.—*Grant, Newspaper Press*; *Nichols, Literary Anecdotes*, iv. *The Post Office*.—*Lewins, Her Majesty's Mails*; *Wilson Hyde, Post in Grant and Farm*, etc.

Scotland.—(a) *Contemporary*: *Nicoll, Diary, 1650–67* (Bannatyne Club); *Lamont, Diary, 1649–71* (Bannatyne Club); *Scottish Burgh Records Society, Aberdeen, Stirling, Peebles, Lanark, Glasgow, and Miscellany*; *Scottish History Society, especially Scotland and the Commonwealth*, ed. Firth, *General Assembly Records, 1646–52, and Miscellany*; *Spalding Club Publications, Aberdeen Kirk Session Records, 1562–1681*; *Presbytery Book of Strathgogie, 1631–1654*; *Diary of Brodie of Brodie, 1650–85*; *Balcarres Papers, 1635–64*; *Burnet, History of His Own Time*; *Cromwell's Letters from Scotland* (Carlyle). (b) *Modern*: *Buckle History of Civilization in Europe*, vol. iii.; *Napier, Montrose and his Times*; *Mackay, Memoirs of the First Viscount Stair*; *Omond, History of the Lord Advocates*; *Prof. Herbert Story, Life and Times of William Carstairs*. Much contemporary material dealing with the century generally is to be found in *Lord Somerville, Memoirs of the Somervilles*; *Hume of Godscroft, House of Douglas*; *Hunter, Biggar and the House of Fleming*; *Gordon, Earldom of Sutherland*; *Dunbar, Social Life in Moray*; the *Caldwell Papers*, the Coltness collection, the histories of *Renfrew* (Crawford), *Ayr* (Paterson), *Stirling* (Nimmo), *Fife* (Sibbald), *Lanark* (Hamilton), *Wigton* (Agnew), and *Moray* (Shaw).

Ireland.—*J. T. Gilbert, Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641–1652, and History of the Irish Confederation*; *Curry, Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*; *McDonnell, The Ulster Civil War of 1641*; *Castlehaven, Memoirs*; *Warner, The Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland*; *Borlase, History of the Irish Rebellion*; *Carte, Life of Ormond*; *Plowden, Historical Review*; *Meehan, Confederation of Kilkenny*; *Prendergast, Cromwellian Settlement*; *Ludlow, Memoirs*; *Leland, History of Ireland*.



CHARLES II. RIDING TO HIS CORONATION.
(From a contemporary print.)

PRINTED BY
JASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED, LA BELLE SAUVAGE,
LONDON, E.C.

49875

901.42

T681

v.4 pt.1

Traill, H.D. & Mann, J.S. eds.

901.42

49875

T681

v.4 pt.1

